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ÂGOJÎBHAṬṬA'S PARIBHÂSHENDUŚEKHARA.

The Department of Public Instruction, Bombay.

THE

PARIBHÂṢHENDUŚEKHARA

OF

NÂGOJÎBHAṬṬA

EDITED AND EXPLAINED

BY

F. KIELHORN, PH. D.,

SUPERINTENDENT OF SANSKRIT STUDIES AND ACTING PRINCIPAL,

DECCAN COLLEGE.

Part II.

TRANSLATION AND NOTES.

(PARIBHÂṢHÂS LXX.—CXXII.)

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TO

PROFESSOR MAX MÜLLER

BY

HIS GRATEFUL PUPIL AND FRIEND.

PREFACE.

The 133 grammatical Paribhâshâs which have been collected and explained by Nâgojîbhaṭṭa in his Paribhâshendus'ekhara,[1] are maxims intended to guide and assist in the interpretation and application[2] of the rules of Pâṇini's grammar.

According to the introductory remark of Nâgojîbhaṭṭa these maxims have been taken from the Bhâshya and the Vârttikas. This statement, though correct with regard to by far the greatest number of Paribhâshâs, cannot be taken in its literal sense; for not only are some Paribhâshâs in the Paribhâshendus'ekhara (*a*) read slightly differently from what they are in the Bhâshya; not only has Nâgojîbhaṭṭa given and commented on Paribhâshâs which, though their existence may (*b*) be suggested by a parti-

1. परिभाषा एवेन्दुरर्थप्रकाशत्वात्स शेखरे यस्येति ग्रन्थपक्षे । तत्र तासामेव व्याख्येयत्वेन गन्थत्वान्मस्तकभूतत्वमारोप्यते । यद्वा स शेखरो भूषणं यस्य । यद्वा तस्य शेखर आश्रयः । यद्वा तासां प्रकाशकोऽलंकारः ॥ P.

2. It will suffice here to instance Par. XXXVIII.-LXV. which, as they treat of the relative force of Pâṇini's rules, are perhaps the most important of all the Paribhâshâs contained in the Paribhâshendus'ekhara.—There are a few Paribhâshâs which assist us neither in interpreting nor in applying the rules of grammar, but which rather lay down some of the principles followed by Pâṇini himself in the formation of his rules; I allude to Paribhâshâs like CXXII.—Par. I. refers us for the solution of any doubt or the removal of any ambiguity which cannot be solved or removed otherwise, to the interpretation of the learned.

cular passage of the Bhâshya, or though they (*c*) may have been tacitly applied, have nevertheless not been distinctly enunciated in the latter; but he has (*d*) admitted into his work even such Paribhâshâs of other grammarians as according to his own showing are contrary to the Bhâshya and consequently void of validity.

(*a*) Instances of (*a*) are:

Par. XI.; in Paribh. यदागमास्तद्गुणी°; in Bhâshya on P. I., 1, 20 अर्थवतो ह्यागमस्तद्गुणी°; see Transl. pag. 66.

XVIII.; see Bhâshya on P. V., 2, 25 and VI., 1, 93, Transl. pag. 103 and 104.

XX.; in Paribh. भाव्यमानोऽप्युपकारः सवर्णान्गृह्णाति; in Bhâshya on P. VI., 1, 185 भवत्युकारेण भाव्यमानेन सवर्णानां ग्रहणम्; Transl. pag. 110, note 2.

XXIV.; in Paribh. प्रत्ययग्रहणे...; in Bhâshya on P. I., 1, 72 प्रत्ययग्रहणं ••; Transl. pag. 125, note 1.

XXV.; in Paribh....न तदन्तग्रहणम्; in Bhâshya on P. VI., 3, 50••••रूपग्रहणम्; Transl. pag. 129, note 2.

XXVI.; see Bhâshya on P. VI., 1, 13; Transl. pag. 134, note 2.

LXXIII.; in Paribh. सूत्रे लिङ्गवचनमतन्त्रम्; in Bhâshya on P. III., 3, 18 and IV., 1, 92 नात्र निर्देशस्तन्त्रम्; Transl. pag. 375, note 1.

LXXXIV.; in Paribh. समासान्तविधिरनित्यः; in Bhâshya on P. VI., 2, 197 विभाषा समासान्तो भवति; Transl. pag. 409.

CXI.; in Paribh. पर्जन्यवल्लक्षणप्रवृत्तिः; in Bhâshya on P. I., 2, 9 and VI., 1, 127 कृतकारि खल्वपि शास्त्रं पर्जन्यवत्; Transl. pag. 501, note 2.

CXII.; in Paribh. निषेधाश्च बलीयांसः; in Bhâshya प्रतिषेधाश्च बलीयांसो भवन्ति; Transl. pag. 505, note 5.

CXVII.; in Paribh. पूर्वत्रासिद्धीयमद्विर्वे; in Bhâshya on P.

VIII., 1, 1 पूर्वत्रासिद्धीयमद्विर्वचने; Transl. pag. 511, note 1.

CXIX. ; see Transl. pag. 513, note 1.

(*b*) The existence of the following is merely suggested in the Bhâshya :

Par. X. ; Text pag. 9, l. 2, द्विर्वचनेऽचि [१.१.५९] इत्यत्र भाष्ये ध्वनितैषा ; Transl. pag. 53, note 4.

XC. ; Text pag. 92, l. 2, ध्वनिता चेयं पारिभाषा यस्य विभाषा [७.२.१५] इत्यत्र भाष्ये, and l. 8 कण्ठतस्तु भाष्य एषा क्वापि न पठिता; Transl. pag. 433, note 2.

CXXII. ; Text pag. 115, l. 12, ए ओङ् ऐ औच्सूत्रयोर्ध्वनितैषा भाष्ये.

(*c*) The following have been applied in, or are at any rate not contrary to, the Bhâshya, although they may not have been actually enunciated in the latter :

Par. XVII., Transl. pag. 104, note 1, at the bottom ; XXXVIII. ; XLIV., Transl. pag. 213, note 2; XLV., Transl. pag. 215, note 1; XLVI. ; LXIV., Transl. pag. 342 ; LXV. ; XCI., Transl. pag. 436, note 3 ; XCVII., Transl. pag. 467 ; XCVIII. ; C., Transl. pag. 474, note 3 ; CIII., Transl pag. 479, notes ; CIV., Transl. pag. 483, note 3 ; CXIV. ; CXV. ; CXVI.

(*d*) The following do not occur in, and are contrary to, the Bhâshya :

Par. LVI. अकृतव्यूहाः पाणिनीयाः, Text pag. 65, l. 3 किंचैषा भाष्ये न दृश्यते ; see Kaiyaṭa, Transl. pag. 311, note 2.

LXXVIII. ; Text pag. 82, l. 5 and 6 भाष्यविरुद्धा.

XCIII., 1-10 ; Text pag. 94, l. 9, तत्र भाष्येऽदर्शनात् ; pag. 95, l. 7, भाष्यानुक्तम् ; l. 13 भाष्येऽदर्शनात् ; pag. 96, l. 17 भाष्यानुक्तत्वात्.

CXX., 1-3 ; Text pag. 112, l. 5, भाष्याव्यवहृतत्वात् ; pag. 113, l. 13, भाष्यानुक्तत्वात्.

CXXI. ; Text pag. 115, l. 8 भाष्यासंमता, भाष्यविरुद्धा च.

We are told by Nâgojîbhaṭṭa that the Paribhâshâs which have been explained in his work, are in Pâṇini's grammar ज्ञापकन्याय-सिद्धानि; and Pâyagunda when commenting on the latter expression says : ज्ञापकेत्यस्य ग्रथितेत्यादिः । तथा च वाचनिकानामपि तत्सहचरितानां संग्रहः । ....तत्रैतच्छास्त्रीयलिङ्गं ज्ञापकम् । एतच्छास्त्रलौकिकतन्त्रान्तरप्रसिद्धयुक्तिन्यायः ॥ From this it appears that there are three classes of Paribhâshâs : 1) Paribhâshâs which are *Jnâpaka-siddhâ* ; 2) Paribhâshâs which are *Nyâya-siddhâ* ; and 3) such as are *Vâchanikî*. This division is perfectly correct ; but the second class may again be subdivided according to the meaning conveyed by the word *Nyâya* ;[1] for this word may either be taken in the sense of लोकन्याय 'a maxim from ordinary life,' and if a Paribhâshâ be established by

1. The term न्याय in the above expression न्यायसिद्ध should not be confounded with न्याय where this word is used as a synonym of परिभाषा. It will appear from the following quotations that *any* Paribhâshâ, whether it be *Jnâpakasiddhâ*, or *Nyâyasiddhâ*, or *Vâchanikî*, may also be termed *Nyâya i. e.* 'a maxim' or 'axiom'.

Par. XI., is called *Nyâya* by Nâgojibhaṭṭa p. 10, 5; 46, 12.
XII ; p. 12, 16.
XV ; p. 15, 5; 17; 16, 3; 17, 1.
XVIII ; p. 18, 6.
XXXVII ; p. 33, 15; 34, 5; 56, 12.
XL ; p. 11, 4; 35, 1.
L ; p. 64, 2.
LII ; (*Jnâpaka-siddhâ*) ; p. 55, 14; 56, 4; 6.
LVII ; p. 50, 14; 58, 13; 65, 13; 68, 3.
LVIII ; p. 68, 10.
LX ; p. 70, 9.
LXI ; p. 70, 9; 12.
LXV ; p. 71, 5.
LXXIV ; p. 79, 8.
LXXXIX (*Jnâpaka-siddhâ*) ; p. 12, 16.
XCIV (*Vâchanikî*) ; p. 97, 12.
CXVIII ; p. 111, 5.

such a maxim, it will be 2*a*) *Lokanyáya-siddhá* ; or *Nyáya* may be understood in the more general sense of 'reasoning, argumentation,' and in this case a Paribhâshâ will be 2*b*) simply *Nyáya-siddhá* or, which is the same, *Yukti-siddhá*. *Váchaniki* are all those Paribhâshâs which are neither *Jnápaka-* nor *Nyáya-siddhá*; they too may be subdivided into two classes, *viz.* 3*a*) Paribhâshâs which have been based on, or are directly deduced from, one or more of Pâṇini's rules ; and 3*b*) Paribhâshâs which are entirely independent maxims or *Váchaniki* in the narrower sense of the word.

(1). The existence and validity of nearly half the number of the Paribhâshâs collected by Nâgojibhaṭṭa is indicated and proved by *Jnápakas*, (*Jnápaka-siddhá*). *Jnápaka* is that which teaches or suggests something ; and the term *Jnápaka*,[1] in the sense in which it is used here, is applicable to any term employed by Pâṇini, or to any rule given by him, or in short to any proceeding of his,[2] which would be meaningless or superfluous (*vyartha*), or for which it would be absolutely impossible to assign a reason, if a particular Paribhâshâ did not exist, but which appears necessary and serves a purpose[3] (*i. e.* is *charitârtha*)

Cf. also p. 7, 10, कृत्रिमाकृत्रिमयोः कृत्रिमे कार्यसंप्रत्यय इति न्यायात्; p. 8, 3, कृत्रिमाकृत्रिमन्याय; p. 54, 9 उत्सर्गसमानदेशा अपवादा इति न्यायेन; p. 99, 5 and 108, 8 लक्ष्ये लक्षणस्येति न्यायेन ; p. 38, 10; 72, 10 etc.

Par. XCIII, 10 is called *Pravâda*, p. 97, 3.

1. Instead of *Jnâpaka* we sometimes find the term *Linga*; see Text pag. 96, 14; 102, 1.

2. In the case of Par. LII. even to the *Anuvritti* or *validity* in P. VII., 2, 98 of the word सपर्यन्तस्य.

3. It appears that according to Nâgojibhaṭṭa we are allowed to apply the term *Jnâpaka* only to that which not only would be *vyartha* if a particular Paribhâshâ were not adopted, but is also absolutely ne-

as soon as and only when that Paribhâshâ has been adopted, and which on that account indicates the existence of that Paribhâshâ and proves that the latter was adopted and acted upon by Pâṇini in the composition of his Sûtras.[1] In case the Antaranga-paribhâshâ had not existed in Pâṇini's time or had not been adopted by him, the presence of the term ऊठ् in P. VI., 4, 132. would have been absolutely superfluous; on the other hand, as soon as and only when that Paribhâshâ is adopted, is ऊठ् in P. VI., 4, 132 absolutely necessary; hence the fact that Pâṇini *has* employed the term ऊठ् in his rule VI., 4, 132, shows that the Antaranga-paribhâshâ did exist when he composed his grammar and was adopted by him, and ऊठ् becomes thus the *Jnâpaka* of the Antaranga-paribhâshâ.[2] Similarly, the rule P. VII., 3, 22 would have served absolutely no purpose, had Pâṇini not adopted Par. LIII.; on the other hand, it is necessary as soon as and only when we adopt that Paribhâshâ; accordingly the circum-

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cessary and serves a purpose (*i e.* is *charitârtha*) when that Paribhâshâ has been adopted. The employment of the same Anubandha ण् in two S'ivasûtras may suggest to us the existence of such a maxim as is expressed in Par. I.; nevertheless it should, properly speaking, not be called the *Jnâpaka* of that Paribhâshâ, because Pâṇini was by no means obliged to employ the same Anubandha twice even when he had adopted Par. I. The same remark applies in the case of Par. CXV. (See also Transl. pag. 108, 1; 443, 2). The author of the Bhâshya however employs the word ज्ञापयति in a less limited sense, for he says *e. g.* with regard to Par. I.: 'किं पुनर्वर्णोत्सर्गविधायं णकारो द्विरनुबध्यते। एतज्ज्ञापयत्याचार्यो भवत्येषा परिभाषा व्याख्यानत इत्यादि.'

1. Nevertheless we are, according to Nâgojibhaṭṭa, not authorized to consider as correct any maxim established by a *Jnâpaka*, when that maxim is not given in the Bhâshya. See Transl. pag. 443.

2. See Transl. pag. 235.

stance that Pâṇini has laid down the rule VII., 3, 22, indicates the existence and validity of Par. LIII., or in other words, P. VII., 3, 22 is the *Jnâpaka* of that Paribhâshâ.[1] Or, to give another instance, when Pâṇini lays down the two separate rules V., 2, 86 पूर्वादिनिः and V., 2, 87 सपूर्वाच्च instead of giving only the one rule पूर्वात्सपूर्वादिनिः, his doing so can be accounted for only on the supposition that he knew and had adopted Par. XXXII., and the fact that he has given the two separate rules indicates therefore the existence and validity, or is the *Jnâpaka*, of Par. XXXII.

The following are the Paribhâshâs the existence of which is in this manner indicated by *Jnâpakas* :

Par. VI, by शित् in P. I., 1, 55.

VII, by माङ् in P. III., 4, 19.

VIII, by विभाषा in P. III., 1, 139.

IX, by अतिशदन्तायाः in P. V., 1, 22.

XIX, by आत् in P. VI., 4, 160; (also proved by आप्रत्ययः in P. I., 1, 69).

XX, by the त् of उन् in P. VI., 1, 111 and 131.[3]

XXII, by कंस in P. VIII., 3, 46.

XXV, by लेख in P. VI., 3, 50.

XXVII, by अन्त in P. I., 4, 14.

XXVIII, by अनन्तरः in P. VI., 2, 49.

XXXI, (equivalent to part of a Vârtt. on P. I., 1, 72), by the rule P. V., 2, 87.

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1. See Transl. pag. 289.

2. See Transl. pag. 164.

3. There is no reason why the existence of one and the same Paribhâshâ should not be indicated by two or even more different *Jnâpakas*; nor can there be any cause why the existence of a Paribhâshâ the validity of which may be established otherwise than by a *Jnâpaka*, should not at the same time be indicated by a *Jnâpaka*.

XXXII, by the fact that P. has made the two separate rules V., 2, 86 and 87 instead of uniting both in one rule.

XXXIV, by बहुवचनस्य in P. I., 2, 63; (also *Nyáya-siddhâ*; see below).

XXXVI, by the form स्त्रियः in P. VI., 4, 59 and VIII., 2, 46.

XLI, (rejected), by the rule P. I., 3, 92.

L., by ऊठ् in P. VI., 4, 132; (in one sense also by आङ् in P. VI., 1, 95; in certain cases also *Lokanyáya-siddhâ.*)

LI, (rejected), by तुक् in P. VI., 1, 86.

LII, by the validity of मपर्यन्तस्य in P. VII., 2, 98; (according to others by the rule P. VII., 2, 98; according to others *Váchanikî*).

LIII, by the rule P. VII, 3, 22.

LIV, by ल्यप् in P. II., 4, 36.

LV, by the rule P. VI, 4, 78; (according to others by असवर्णे in that rule).

LVI, (rejected), by समर्थानाम् in P. IV., 1, 82.

LXVI, by अकित: in P. VII, 4, 83.

LXVII, by the monosyllabic roots निन्द् etc. in P. III, 2, 146.

LXVIII, indirectly by the rule P. III., 3, 169 which shows that P. III., 1, 94 is not universally valid.

LXIX, by लङ् in P. III., 2, 116.

LXXI, by the feminine words श्रमणा etc. in the Gana on P. II., 1, 70.

LXXV, indirectly by अनिङ् in P. II., 2, 19.

LXXVIII, (rejected), by णमुल् in P. III., 4, 59.

LXXIX, by अपृथिवीरुद्रपूषमन्थिषु in P. VI., 2, 142.

LXXX, by अनावः in P. VI., 1, 213.

LXXXI and LXXXII, by the ङ् of उञ and उञ्ञ् in P. IV., 2, 9.

LXXXIII, by स्त्रियाम् in P. V., 4, 14.

LXXXIV, by राजन् in the Gaṇa on P. VI., 2, 193.

LXXXVI, by लस्य in P. VI., 4, 153; (in some cases also *Lokanyáya-siddhá*).

LXXXVII, by कार्मं in P. VI., 4, 172.

LXXXVIII, by भ्रौणहत्य in P. VI., 4, 174.

LXXXIX, by अकोः in P. VII., 1, 11.

XCI, by अचक्रि in P. VII., 3, 56.

XCII, (rejected?), by आत् in P. VI., 4, 160, and जा in P. VII., 3, 79.

XCIII, 1. (rejected), by गुणः in P. VI., 4, 146.

— 2. (rejected), by the आ of आनि in P. VIII., 4, 16.

— 3 (rejected), by कृञ् in P. III., 1, 79.

— 4. (rejected), by the Anubandha ङ् of चक्षिङ्.

— 5. (rejected), by वर्जम् in P. VI., 1, 158.

— 6-7 (rejected), according to Bhairavamis'ra by P. I., 1, 62.

— 8. (rejected), according to Bhairavamis'ra by the च in P. VII., 2, 12.

— 10. (rejected), by स्थाने in P. VII., 3, 46; (also *Nyáya-siddhá*).

CVI, by the Anubandha ए् of the root देए्.

CIX, by उदात्तः in P. VII., 1, 75.

CXIX, (rejected), by उभयेषाम् in P. VI., 1, 17.

CXX, 3 (rejected), by एकाचः in P. VII., 2, 10.

(2*a*). There is another class of Paribhâshâs the existence of which is not or at any rate need not be indicated by *Jnâpakas*,

because their validity rests, so to speak, on a broader foundation. They are universally accepted maxims so worded as to suit the exigencies of grammar. They must be considered as valid and binding, because their truth is established by the general practice of mankind; in short, they are *Lokanyâya-siddhâ*. As in ordinary life a dog does not cease to be called a dog because its tail may have been cut off, so in grammar a word which may have been partly changed must still be considered to be the same word which it was before the change had taken place.[1] Or, as in ordinary life several people who may have been appointed to the same office, have all to act in one and the same manner, so must in grammar several words of a rule which may be mutually connected, either *all* be regarded as valid in a subsequent rule, or *none* of them can be allowed to be valid.[2] It is possible to find also for some Paribhâshâs of this class *Jnâpakas* which show that Pâṇini in the composition of his Sûtras had followed the maxims of ordinary life which are expressed in those Paribhâshâs or on which the latter are based; these *Jnâpakas* however are by no means necessary to establish the validity of such Paribhâshâs, because it is sufficiently established by the practice of ordinary life.

Of the Paribhâshâs collected in the Paribhâshendus'ekhara the following are *Lokanyâya-siddhâ*:—

Par. X.; see the Text pag. 8, l. 13, वस्तुतः समवायिकारणनिमित्तकारणयोर्भेदस्य सकललोकतन्त्रप्रसिद्धतया तस्य तत्त्वेनाश्रयणाभावेन नैषा ज्ञापकसाध्या. (*Jnâpakas* ज्ञापिनः in P. IV., 2, 15, etc.; Transl. pag. 51, note 1.).

XI.; Text pag. 9, l. 8, लोकेऽपि ....दृश्यते. (See also Transl. pag. 60, note 1).

1. Par. XXXVII.
2. Par. XVII.

XV.; see Transl. pag. 91, note 1, Kaiyaṭa: लौकिक एवायं न्यायः शास्त्र आश्रीयते.

XVII.; Text pag. 18, l. 1, एककार्यनियुक्तानां बहूनां लोके तथैव दर्शनात्. (See also Transl. pag. 100, and note 4).

XXX.; Text pag. 29, l. 1, लोकन्यायसिद्धेयम्. (See also Transl. pag. 158, note).

XXXVII.; Text pag. 33, l. 11, छिन्नपुच्छे शुनि श्वत्वव्यवहारवन्मान्ते तत्त्वं लोकन्यायसिद्धम्. (*Jnâpaka* दीव्यतः instead of दीव्यतेः in P. IV., 1, 83. See also Transl. pag. 181, notes.)

L. in certain cases; Text pag. 49, l. 10, इदमन्तरङ्गत्वं लोकन्यायसिद्धमिति....भाष्ये स्थितम्.

LVII.; see Transl. pag. 323, note 1, Bhâshya: लोके हि... भवति.—Based on this is also Par. CX; see Transl. pag. 500, note 2.

LXXIII.; Text pag. 78, l. 12, धान्यपलालन्यायेन नान्तरीयकतया तयोरुपादानम्, and Transl. pag. 376. (*Jnâpaka* नपुंसकम् in P. II., 2, 2).

LXXIV.; Text pag. 79, l. 5, न ब्राह्मणमानयेत्युक्ते लोष्टमानीय कृती भवति. (See also Transl. pag. 378, note 1).

LXXVI.; Text pag. 81, l. 4, तत्तद्वचनसामर्थ्यन्यायसिद्धेयम्. (See also Transl. pag 386, note 2).

LXXVII.; Transl. pag 390, note 1, Bhâshya: सिद्धं तु तद्गुणसंविज्ञानात्याणिनेर्यथा लोके.

LXXXV.; Text pag. 85, l. 18, उपजीव्यविरोधस्यायुक्तत्वमिति न्यायमूलैषा. (See also Transl. pag. 411, note 1.)

LXXXVI. in certain cases; Text pag. 89, l. 18, समुच्चयार्थकचशब्दयोगे तु विधेययोरेककालिकत्वैकदेशत्वनियमाभ्यायसिद्धापीयम्; Transl. pag. 425, note, Kaiyaṭa: लौकिकोऽयं न्यायः.

XCVII.; Transl. pag. 467, note 2.

XCVIII.; Text pag. 100, l. 15, रथकाराधिकरणन्यायसिद्धोऽयमर्थः.

CIII.; Transl. pag. 479, note 2, P.: अस्या लोकसिद्धत्वं प्रतिपादयति.

CVII. and CVIII. ; Text pag. 105, l. 13, देवदत्तादयो भोक्ष्यन्तामित्यत्र भुजिवत्, and l. 16. गर्गाः...दण्डनवत्; Transl. pag. 491, note 2; and pag. 492, note 2.

CXI. ; पजेन्यवल्लक्षणप्रवृत्तिः ; Transl. pag. 501, note 2.

CXII. ; Transl. pag. 505, note 4 : इयं च परिभाषा लोकसिद्धन्यायमूलिका. Bhairavamis'ra.

(2*b*). Some Paribhâshâs again are neither *Jnápaka-* nor *Lokanyáya-siddhá*, but their validity is as it were self-evident, because they teach us nothing but what every one must admit to be reasonable or natural, or because the course they direct us to follow in the interpretation or application of the rules of grammar, is the most obvious or the simplest course that could be taken or is less beset with difficulties than some other course which possibly might be suggested. As their validity is dependent neither on *Jnápakas* nor on the existence of generally adopted maxims of ordinary life, but can be demonstrated from the nature of what is taught in them, they are justly called *Nyáya-* or *Yukti-siddhá*. When a certain combination of letters *can* convey a meaning, it is only reasonable that it should convey that meaning.[1] When two rules of which the one would take effect under any circumstances while the other under certain circumstances would not take effect, are both applicable simultaneously, it is natural to assume that the former possesses greater force than the latter rule.[2] When there arises the question as to whether a particular rule enjoins something new or contains merely a restriction regarding something which is enjoined in another rule, it is natural to answer this question in favour of the former alternative because every one must admit

1. Par. XIV.

2. Par. XXXVIII. परानित्यं बलवत्.

that a rule which enjoins something new is less cumbrous than a restrictive rule.[1] When Pâṇini employs *e. g.* the term पा, it is reasonable to suppose that he meant to denote by it only the root पा which is immediately denoted by that term, and that he did not mean to denote by it also the root पै, although the latter occasionally likewise assumes the form पा.[2] Or when we see him adopt in his grammar, the great object of which is brevity, so long a technical term as *Pratyaya*, we cannot be far wrong in assuming that that term was chosen by him in order to show that what is denoted by it must, in accordance with the etymological meaning of the word *Pratyaya*, necessarily convey a meaning.[3]

The Paribhâshâs which may be classed under this head, are :

Par. IV. (rejected), and V.; see Transl. pag. 30, note 1.

XIV.; Text pag. 14, l. 2, विशिष्टरूपोपादाने ....त्यागे मानाभावोऽस्या मूलम्. (Also proved by the interpretation of P. I., 1, 68; see Transl. pag. 85, note 1.)

XXXIV.; Text pag. 32, l. 1, चार्थे द्वन्द्वः ....न्यायसिद्धेयम्; Transl. pag. 171, note 5. (Also established by a *Jnâpaka*).

XXXVIII. परान्नित्यं बलवत्; Text pag. 38, l. 16, तत्र...तत्कल्पनमुचितमिति नित्यस्य बलवत्त्वे बीजम्; Transl. pag. 210, note 1, P.: न वाचनिकं किंतु युक्तिसिद्धम्.

LIX.; Text pag. 69, l. 6 अवश्यं...बीजम्.

LX.; Text pag. 69, l. 14, पूर्वोपस्थितबाधेन...बीजम्.

LXI.; Transl. pag. 337, note 1 at the bottom; see also pag. 338 and 339.

LXV.; Text pag. 73, l. 8 निरवकाशत्वरूपस्य बाधकत्वबीजस्याभावात्.

LXX.; in some cases; in others proved by P. I., 4, 2. See Transl. pag. 362, note 1.

1. Par. C.
2. See Par. CV.
3. See Par. CXIII.

XCIII., 9 (rejected); Text pag. 95, l. 11, षष्ठाद्वित्वस्य....न्यायसिद्धम्.

XCIII., 10 (rejected); Text pag. 96, l. 10, विध्यङ्गभूतानां... मानाभाव इति तर्कमूलेयम्. (Also established by a *Jnápaka*).

C.; Text. pag. 101, l. 8, नियमे...लाघवाद्विधिरेवेति बोध्यम्.

CI.; Text pag. 101, l. 14, सामान्योपस्थितिकाले... बीजम्.

CIV.; Text pag. 103, l. 16, प्रकरणादितः श्रुतेर्बलवत्त्वात्; Transl. pag. 482, note 3.

CV; Text pag. 104, l. 13, इदमेव स्रोतस्यरिभाषाबीजम्; Transl. pag. 488, and note 1. (लौकिकलाघवगौरवमूलकोऽयं न्यायः P.)

CXIII.; Text pag. 109, l. 15, महासंज्ञा...बीजम्; Transl. pag. 506, note 4 (अस्या न्यायसिद्धत्वमाह महेति).

CXIV.; Text pag. 110, l. 2, तत्तत्समान°....°मेतद्बीजम्.

CXVI.; Text pag. 110, l. 7.

CXVIII.; Transl. pag. 511, note 2: तथा च लोकसिद्धप्रतिपत्तिलाघवमूलकोऽयं न्याय इति बोध्यम्. P.

CXXI. (rejected); Text pag. 115, l. 8, प्रतिवाक्यं...गौरवं स्पष्टमेव.

(3). A Paribhâshâ the existence of which has not been suggested by Pâṇini himself by means of a *Jnápaka*, and the validity of which can neither be proved by showing that it is in reality nothing but a universally adopted maxim from ordinary life, nor demonstrated from the nature of what is taught in it, is termed *Vâchaniki i. e. Vachanarûpeṇa paṭhitá*; in other words, it is an independent statement the authority and validity of which can be ascertained only by an examination of the individual cases in which it may be applicable. Such independent Paribhâshâs may, as has been stated already above, be divided again into two classes, *viz.* 3*a*) Paribhâshâs which either are considered equivalent to or are directly deduced from or developed out of particular rules of Pâṇini's; and 3*b*) Paribhâshâs which

are completely independent maxims or *Váchaniki* in the narrower or, we may say, stricter sense of the word. Paribhâshâs which may be enumerated under 3*a*), are:

Par. XII., equivalent to P. I., 1, 49; see Transl. pag. 68, and note 1; pag. 76, note 2.

XIII., deduced from P. I., 1, 50; Transl. pag. 78; 81, note 1.

XXI., from P. I., 1, 62; Transl. pag. 111; 113, note 1.

XXIII., made up of part of P. I., 4, 13 and of P. I., 1, 72; Transl. pag. 117.

XXIX., Text pag. 26, l. 13, येन विधिः [१.१.७२] इत्यस्यायं प्राप्नुयात्.

XXXV. is formed by taking छन्दसि वा of P. I., 4, 9 as a separate rule; or by taking छन्दसि of P. III., 1, 84 and बहुलम् of P. III., 1, 85 as one rule.

XXXVIII. पूर्वात्परं बलवत्, is equivalent to P. I., 4, 2.

XXXIX. and XL. are derived from two different interpretations of the same rule P. I., 4, 2.

LXX. is in some cases proved by P. I., 4, 2, in others *Nyáya-siddhá*.

Those which may be enumerated under 3*b*), are:

Par. XVI.; Text pag. 17, l. 7: येन विधिः [१.१.७२] इत्यत्र भाष्ये वचनरूपेण पठिता. (According to others what has been stated in the Par. follows from the alleged fact, that Par. XIV. is not universally valid; Transl. pag. 98.)

XXIV.; Text pag. 22, l. 11, येन विधिः [१.१.७२] इति सूत्रे भाष्ये....पठ्यते. See Transl. pag. 120, note 4.

XXVI.; Text pag. 24, l. 12, इयं च वाचनिकयेव ष्यङः [६.१.१३] इति सूत्रे भाष्ये स्पष्टा.

XXXIII.; Text pag. 31, l. 6, वाचनिकयेवा येन विधिः [१.१.७२] इत्यत्र भाष्ये पठिता.

LII., according to some; Text pag. 55, l. 11, 'भाष्यरीत्या तु वाचनिक एवायमर्थः.' But see above pag. viii.

LXXII.; Text pag. 78, l. 6, स्पष्टा चेयं युष्मदस्मदोरनादेशे [७.१.१] इत्यत्र भाष्ये. (According to others what has been stated in the Par. follows from the fact that Par. LXXI. is not universally valid; Transl. pag. 373).

XCIV.; Text pag. 97, l. 11, इयं च वाचनिकयेव. See Transl. pag. 454. (According to some based on more general maxims).

XCV.; Text pag. 99, l. 9, वाचनिक्येषा.

XCVI. (rejected); Text pag. 100, l. 1, एषालोऽन्त्यात्सूत्रे भाष्ये स्पष्टा...प्रत्याख्याता च.

XCIX.; Text pag. 101, l. 6, भाष्ये स्पष्टा.

CII. (rejected); Text pag. 102, l. 6, इयं चाङ्गस्य [६.४.१] इति सूत्रे भाष्ये पठिता; l. 11, एकदेशिनोक्ता.

CXVII.; Text pag. 110, l. 18, सर्वस्य द्वे [८.१.१] इति सूत्रे भाष्ये स्पष्टेयम्.

There remain nineteen Paribhâshâs which have not been mentioned under any of the above heads, *viz.* Par. II. and III.; XVIII.; XLII.—XLIX.; LVIII.; LXII.—LXIV.; XC.; CXX., 1 and 2; and CXXII. Of these, the truth of Par. II. and III. follows from the nature of, and from the relation which obtains between, Saṃjnâ-rules and Paribhâshâs on the one hand, and the rules in which those Saṃjnâs occur or for which those Paribhâshâs are necessary, on the other. For Par. XVIII. see Transl. pag. 103, note 2. Par. XLII.—XLIX. contain definitions of the terms *nitya* and *anitya*, some of which are *Váchanika*, while others are *Lokanyáya-siddha*; (see Transl. pag. 218, note 2). Par. LVIII. is a statement of some modern grammarians the substance of which is given under Par. LVII. The truth of Par. LXII.—

LXIV. may be said to result from the relation which exists between *Apavâdas* and the general rules of which the former are *Apavâdas*. Par. XC. is according to Kaiyaṭa established by a *Jnâpaka* (सूतिसूयति in P. VII., 2, 44), while according to Nâgojîbhaṭṭa its existence is suggested merely by a passage of the Bhâshya on P. VII., 2, 15; (see Transl. pag. 434). The validity of Par. CXX., 1 and 2 cannot be proved in any way, and they are accordingly rejected. The existence of the last Par. CXXII. is suggested as was stated above by a remark that occurs in the Bhâshya on the S'ivasûtras 3 and 4.

We now proceed to inquire, (*a*) whether the Paribhâshâs which have been collected by Nâgojîbhaṭṭa in his Paribhâshendus'ekhara, have all been adopted by him; (*b*) whether those which have been adopted are considered universally valid; and (*c*) whether such Paribhâshâs as are met with in the present work, are at all necessary for a proper interpretation and application of the rules of Pâṇini's grammar.

(*a*). We have stated above that amongst the Paribhâshâs collected by Nâgojîbhaṭṭa there are sixteen for the validity of which no proof whatsoever can be adduced from the Bhâshya, and which accordingly have to be rejected at once. They are: Par. LVI.; LXXVIII.; XCIII., 1-10; CXX., 1-3; and CXXI. It is true, the grammarians who have adopted these maxims, have tried to establish the validity of at any rate the greater number of them likewise by means of *Jnâpakas*; not only however have most of the *Jnâpakas* adduced by them been refuted individually, but it has also been stated generally that 'we are not authorized to consider as correct any rule established by a *Jnâpaka*, when that rule is not given in the Bhâshya.'[1] Moreover it

1. Transl. pag. 443.

has been shown that these so-called Paribhâshâs not only do not occur in the Bhâshya, but are actually contrary to it.

In addition to the above, six other Paribhâshâs have likewise been distinctly rejected by Nâgojîbhaṭṭa, although they are met with in the Bhâshya; *viz.* Par. IV., XCVI., and CXIX., because they have been rejected already in the Bhâshya (see Transl. pag. 31; pag. 466, note 3; and pag. 513, note 1); Par. LI. and CII., because they are stated to have been quoted in the Bhâshya by one who is only partly acquainted with the true state of the matter and are in reality superfluous (see Transl. pag. 277, note 2; and pag. 477 and note 3); and Par. XLI., because all that is supposed to follow from it, can really, as has been shown in the Bhâshya, be accounted for in a simpler manner without it (see Transl. pag. 203).

In the case of Par. XCII. Nâgojîbhaṭṭa has left it doubtful whether he agrees with or differs from those grammarians who reject that Paribhâshâ as superfluous, but as he has omitted to bring forward any cogent reason in favour of its adoption, it can hardly be incorrect to assume that that maxim too was rejected by him.

(*b*). There remain then only 110 Paribhâshâs of which it is certain that they have been adopted by Nâgojîbhaṭṭa. Among these there are some, regarding which it would be superfluous to ask whether they have been considered universally valid or not, because the maxims enunciated or the principles laid down in them are such that if it be considered at all necessary to adopt them, they must be adopted once for all. Such is the case with Par. I., V., XXII., XXXV., LXII.—LXIV., LXXVI., LXXXIII., LXXXIV., CXI., CXIII.—CXVI., and CXXII.

Nor can the question as to their universal validity be raised

in regard to those Paribhâshâs which, while they allow a choice between several alternatives, leave the decision as to what course should be followed in individual cases, either to the interpretation of the learned, or to our own judgment guided as it must be by the particular forms of the language which it may be desirable to form, or for the formation of which we may wish to account, by the rules of Pâṇini's grammar. Paribhâshâs to which this remark appears to be applicable, are :

Par. II. and III. ;

IX. ; Text pag. 7, l. 17, तत्र क्वोभयगतिः क्वाकृत्रिमस्यैव क्व कृत्रिमस्यैवेत्यत्र लक्ष्यानुसारि व्याख्यानमेव शरणम्.

XVII. and XVIII. ; Text pag. 18, l. 17, तावन्मात्रज्ञो स्वरितत्वप्रतिज्ञाबलाल्लभ्यमिदम्.

XXXIX. and XL. ; Text pag. 36, l. 8, लक्ष्यानुसारात्क्वचिच्छास्त्रीयदृष्टान्ताश्रयणं क्वचिल्लौकिकदृष्टान्ताश्रयणम्.

XLII.—XLVIII. ; Text pag. 40, l. 11, सर्वं चेदं लक्ष्यानुरोधाद्व्यवस्थितम्.

LX. and LXI. ; Text pag. 70, l. 10, लक्ष्यानुरोधाच्च व्यवस्था.. । तत्रतत्र क्वचित्स्वरितत्वप्रतिज्ञासामर्थ्येन वा वाध्यतेऽयं न्यायः ।

LXXVII. ;

XCIX. ; Text pag. 101, l. 5, लक्ष्यानुसाराद्व्यवस्था वेष्या.

CVII. and CVIII. ; Text pag. 105, l. 17, लक्ष्यानुरोधेन च व्यवस्था.

Setting aside then the 36 Paribhâshâs enumerated in the above, we may first remark that the 74 which remain should be regarded as valid only so far as their validity may not be restricted by other Paribhâshâs. The validity of Par. XIV. namely is restricted by Par. XVI. which is an exception to the former ; that of XIX. by XX. ; of XXIII. by XXIV.—XXVIII. ; of XXX. by XXXII. ; of XXXVIII. by LII.—LV., LXV., and LXVI. ; of

LXXI. by LXXII. ; and that of LXXXI., XC., and CV., by CVI.—Further we find that in the case of eleven Paribhâshâs Nâgojîbhaṭṭa has stated in a general way that they are not universally valid, while in the case of ten others he has told us distinctly under what particular circumstances only they are (either applicable or) not applicable. The eleven Paribhâshâs where the former is the case, are :

Par. XI.; Text p. 9, l. 10, आनें मुक् [७.२.८२] इति मुग्विधानसामर्थ्यादिषानित्या. (l. 15. उक्तज्ञापकात्.).

XXXVI. ; p. 33, l. 2, तत्रैव प्रातिपदिकत्वनिबन्धनविभक्तिकरणादनित्या.

XXXVII. ; p. 34, l. 5, क्वचित्तु लक्ष्यानुरोधान्न्यायानाश्रयणम्.

XXXVIII., पूर्वान्तरं बलवत्; p. 37, l. 2, क्वचिदिष्टानुरोधेन पूर्वशास्त्रे स्वरितत्वप्रतिज्ञाबलात्— पूर्वमेव भवति.

L. ; p. 53, l. 4, एतज्ज्ञापकेनान्तरङ्गपरिभाषाया अनित्यत्वबोधनस्यैव न्याय्यत्वात्. (*Jnâpaka* तुक् in P. VI., 1, 86).

LV. ; p. 61, l. 3, इयं चानित्या च्छ्वोः [६.४.१९] इति सतुम्निर्देशात्.

LXVII. ; p. 74, l. 16, सूददीपदीक्षश्च [३.२.१५३] इत्यनेन दीर्घयुच्चिनेवेनोक्तार्थस्यानित्यत्वात्.

LXXV.; p. 80, l. 3, अस्या अनित्यत्वात्...। अन्ये त्वनित्यत्वे न मानम्...।

CI. ; p. 101, l. 15, इयमनित्या न त्यपि [६.४.६९] इति लिङ्गात्.

CIII. ; p. 101. l. 3,9, द्विस्त्रिश्चतुः [८.३.४३] इति सूत्रे....कृत्वोऽर्थग्रहणादेषानित्या.

CV. ; p. 104, l. 16, अनित्या चेयं भुवश्च महाव्याहृतेः [८.२.७१] इति महाव्याहृतिग्रहणात्.

The ten where the latter is the case, are :

Par. XIV. ; p. 14, l. 4, इयं वर्णग्रहणेषु नेति लक्ष्य [३.४.७७] इत्यत्र भाष्ये स्पष्टम्.

XXIX. ; p. 27, l. 4, पादस्य पदाद्व्याति [६.३.५२] इत्यत्र न तदन्तग्रहणं लक्ष्यानुरोधात्.

LXXI. ; p. 77, l. 9, एतावत्स्वेवानित्यत्वादप्रवृत्तिर्दोषाः खल्वपि साकल्येन परिगणिता इति भाष्योक्तेः.

LXXXI. and LXXXII. ; p. 84, l. 8, वर्णग्रहणे चानयोरप्रवृत्तिरिति स्पष्टमीह आप: [७.१.१८] इत्यत्र भाष्ये.

LXXXV.; p. 87, l. 13, कष्टाय [३.१.१४] इति निर्देशेनैतस्या अनित्यत्वात् ; p. 88, l. 13, न यासयोः ..दोषाः खल्वपि साकल्येन परिगणिता इति भाष्योक्तेः..

LXXXVIII.; p. 91, l. 3, इयङादिविधौ तु नैषा न भूसुधियोः [६.४.७५] इति निषेधेनानित्यत्वात्.

XCI.; p. 92, l. 15, इयं च कुत्वविषयैव.

CVI.; p. 105, l. 9, गातिस्था [२.४.७७] इति सूत्र इणादेशगाग्रहणमेवेष्यते.

CIX.; p. 107, l. 6, विधेयाप्यिषये त्वप्रत्यय इति निषेधान्न गुणाभेदकत्वेन सवर्णग्रहणम्.

From the above quotations it will be clear that as there are *Jnâpakas* which indicate the existence of particular Paribhâshâs, so there are other *Jnâpakas* in Pâṇini's work which indicate that certain Paribhâshâs are not universally valid,—in other words, terms or expressions employed by Pâṇini for which there would have been absolutely no occasion, had Pâṇini in every case adopted a particular Paribhâshâ, and which, as they *have* been employed by Pâṇini, indicate therefore that that particular Paribhâshâ cannot have been regarded by him as universally valid. The quotations show besides that the special statements regarding the want of universal validity of some Paribhâshâs have in most cases like the Paribhâshâs themselves been taken by Nâgojîbhaṭṭa from the Mahâbhâshya.

To infer from Nâgojîbhaṭṭa's silence regarding the now remaining 53 Paribhâshâs, that each of them has been considered by him absolutely valid and binding under any circumstances, would be incorrect ; for not only do we see him state distinctly

that what is established by a *Jnâpaka* is not universally true, and that we are not to derive from a Paribhâshâ which is established by a *Jnâpaka* or *Nyâya* any results that might be undesirable,[1] a sentiment which appears to have been held already by Kaiyaṭa,[2] but we also find that his commentators, professing to give Nâgojibhaṭṭa's own views, have stated in individual cases that a particular Paribhâshâ, about which Nâgojîbhaṭṭa himself is silent, cannot be regarded as universally valid. (See Transl. pag. 288, note 2 ; 352, note 2 etc). The test of the universal validity of a Paribhâshâ is after all to the Hindû grammarian only this, whether or not its adoption in all cases in which it may be applicable would lead to the correct forms of the actual language, and a Paribhâshâ is accordingly considered valid so long as correct forms only result from its application, and not valid as soon as its application would give rise to incorrect forms.

(c). Are such Paribhâshâs as we meet with in the present work at all necessary for a proper interpretation and application of the rules of Pâṇini's grammar? In other words, has Pâṇini himself adopted them and has he been guided by them in the composition of his Sûtras? Though we are unable at present to answer this question satisfactorily in regard to every Paribhâshâ which has found a place in the Paribhâshenduś'ekhara, nay though we have to admit that there are among the Paribhâshâs which have been adopted by Nâgojîbhaṭṭa at least a few[3] which may have been invented by later grammarians 'either to palliate the shortcomings of Pâṇini, or to make his rules so conveniently elastic as to extend from the time at which

1. Transl. pag. 508.
2. Transl. pag. 183, and note 2.
3. Such as, to give only one instance, Par. CXIV.

he lived down to a period of linguistic development which could not but find them defective in many respects'[1]—yet we feel sure and may state at least so much that any one who will work his way through the Paribhâshendus'ekhara at the hand of the author of the 'Great Commentary', can arrive at no other conclusion but this that by far the greatest number of the Paribhâshâs which have been collected and explained here and by far the most important of them must, either consciously or unconsciously, have been adopted already by Pâṇini and must therefore be adopted also by us when we wish to explain and apply the rules of that great grammarian, or to ascertain the value and accuracy of their traditional interpretation. To test independently the bearing and validity and to ascertain the authorship of every single Paribhâshâ will necessitate an amount of labour which we can only hope to go through in years of patient and wearisome study; to do so at present would oblige us to defer still longer the publication of this translation which has been delayed already so long, and which, with all its shortcomings and defects, may not, we trust, be quite unacceptable to the student of Sanskṛit grammar.

In addition to the commentaries of Vaidyanâthabhaṭṭa Pâyagunḍa, Bhairavamis'ra, and Râghavendrâchârya, which have been mentioned already in the preface to my text of the *Paribhâshendus'ekhara*, I have used for the translation an excellent commentary entitled Chitprabhâ which has been composed by Brahmânanda-Sarasvatî and appears to have been based chiefly on Pâyagunḍa's Paribhâshendus'ekhara-kâs'ikâ.[2] But with all the

1. Goldstücker's Pâṇini, pag. 112.

2. A portion (Par. I.—XLIX.) of another commentary entitled *Sarvamangalâ* and composed by S'eshas'arman I purchased three years ago for the Library of Deccan College. Another commentary, the *Paribhâshârthamanjari*, by Bhîma, son of one Mâdhavâchârya, has lately been

valuable help afforded by these works, I should hardly have been able to accomplish my task, had I not been assisted in it by my learned friends and colleagues, Chintâmaṇi S'âstrî Thatte, Ananta S'âstrî Pendharkar and the late Viṭṭhal Râv Gaṇes' Patvardhan.[1] There is not a page, I might almost say, not a line in my whole translation the contents of which have not been submitted again and again to their criticism, and though I have honestly tried to form my own opinion and to judge independently in every difficulty, though I am ready to bear the blame for any errors and inaccuracies which I cannot hope to have escaped altogether, yet it would be wrong not to acknowledge here the great and invaluable benefit which I have derived from the learning and intelligent discussion of my fellow-teachers. It is sad to see the number of great S'âstrîs, distinguished no less for their humility and modesty than for their learning and in-

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lent to me by my colleague Prof. R. G. Bhândârkar. I need hardly say that many more commentaries could have been acquired, had it been thought necessary.

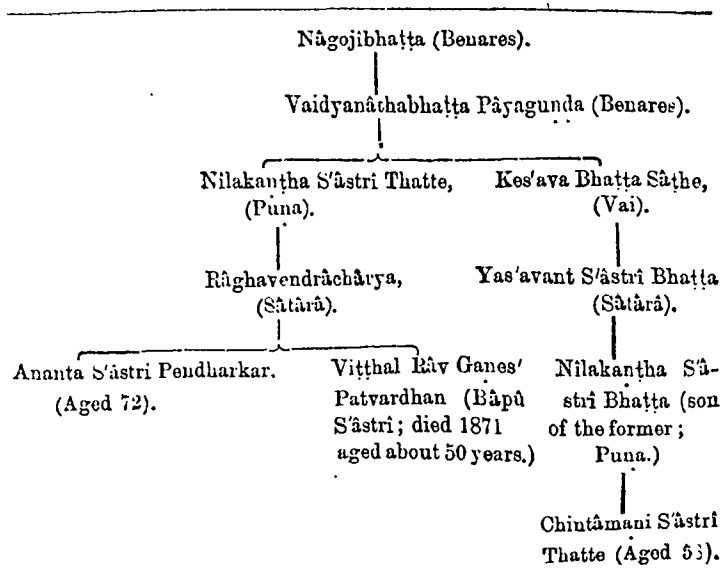
A comparison between Nâgojibhaṭṭa's Paribhâshâs and those collected by his predecessor Sîradeva (for so the name is spelt in the MSS. which I have seen) in his *Paribhâshâvritti*, has been given in an Appendix at the end of this volume. Of Sîradeva's work I have used two MSS., one belonging to the Library of Deccan College, the other to myself. The College Library possesses also a short work entitled *Sîradeva-brihatparibhâshâvritti-tippaṇî vijayâkhyâ, by* S'rîmânas'arman.

Another independent collection of Paribhâshâs, more modern than that of Nâgojîbhaṭṭa, is entitled *Paribhâshâpradîpârchih*; to judge from the College copy of this work, which seems to be incomplete, the name of its author appears to be Udayankara; but in a MS. Catalogue of the Sanskṛit works extant in the Central Provinces the author of the *Paribhâshâpradîpârchih* is called Nâna-pâṭhaka.

1. The subjoined table shows the spiritual relationship of my friends with Nâgojîbhaṭṭa himself by giving the names of the intermediate teachers:

telligence, diminish year after year, and to feel that with them there is dying away more and more of that traditional learning which we can so ill dispense with in the interpretation of the enigmatic works of Hindû antiquity, but it appears to me all the more to be the duty of both Native and European Sanskṛit scholars to save as much as can still be saved, and to fix in writing what in less than half a century will otherwise be irreparably lost.

Deccan College, March 1874. F. KIELHORN.


Nâgojibhaṭṭa (Benares).
Vaidyanâthabhaṭṭa Pâyagunda (Benares).
Nilakaṇṭha S'âstrî Thatte, (Puna).
Kes'ava Bhaṭṭa Sâṭhe, (Vai).
Râghavendrâchârya, (Sâtârâ).
Yas'avant S'âstrî Bhaṭṭa (Sâtârâ).
Ananta S'âstri Pendharkar. (Aged 72).
Viṭṭhal Râv Ganes' Patvardhan (Bâpû S'âstrî; died 1871 aged about 50 years.)
Nilakaṇṭha S'âstrî Bhaṭṭa (son of the former; Puna.)
Chintâmani S'âstrî Thatte (Aged 53).

Râghavendrâchârya died nearly 20 years ago. Nilakaṇṭha S'âstrî Thatte and Kes'ava Bhaṭṭa Sâṭhe were fellow-students of V. Pâyagunda at Benares and the former when about 80 years old was known to Ananta S'âstrî who then was quite a young man.

CORRECTIONS.

TEXT.

P. 6, 14. ° जन्तस्यात्त्वं.

P. 38. Par. XLII. is not परान्नित्यं बलवत्, but कृताकृतप्रसङ्गि नित्यं तद्विपरीतमनित्यम्. See Transl. pag. 209, note 1.

P. 50, 13. Om. समानाश्रयस्य. See Transl. pag. 265, note 2.

P. 65. Par. LVII. is not अन्तरङ्गादप्यपवादो बलीयान्, but येन नाप्राप्ते यो विधिरारभ्यते स तस्य बाधको भवति. See Transl. pag. 320, note 1.

P. 67, 12. क्वचिदपवादविषये.

P. 72, 16. शेषग्रहणमनर्थकं.

P. 77, 9. ४.१.२५.

P. 77, 14. नद्यन्तप्रकृतिकसुबन्तोत्तर°.

P. 79, 5. जोट.

P. 92, 5 and 6. शविकरणस्य. See Transl. pag. 434, note 5.

P. 97, 11. २.३.३७.

P. 109, 7. अन्यथा.

TRANSLATION.

P. 1, 8 and p. 509, 1. See Preface pag. iv. etc.

P. 52, 4. Read नु instead of न.

P. 97, 4. Read 'as an independent rule' instead of 'in the form of a Vârttika.'

P. 128, 11. Om. 1 after VI., 3.

P. 160, 2 from the bottom, and p. 180, 2 from the bottom. Read 'Chitprabhâ' instead of 'Sarvamangalâ'.

P. 171, 13. Read 'is naturally established as correct', instead of 'is established by a maxim accepted in grammar'. And in note 5 omit the words 'it is established—for'.

P. 492, 3 from the bottom. Read 2 instead of 1.

PARIBHÂSHÂ LXX.

With reference to (rules) like P. VIII., 3, 32 (in which one term is exhibited in the Ablative and another in the Locative case) there might arise a doubt whether (*e. g.* the words ङमोऽचि in P. VIII., 3, 32 should mean, in accordance with P. I., 1, 67, that ङमुट् is added) to अच् when this follows upon ङम्, or, (in accordance with P. I., 1, 66, that ङमुट् is added) to ङम् when अच् follows (upon the latter.[1] The author of the Paribhâshâs) says therefore:

P. LXX: When both (a term in the Locative and another in the Ablative case) are exhibited (or valid in the same rule), then the Ablative in which the one (term) is exhibited possesses greater force (than the Locative in which the other term is exhibited).[2]

(In the case of P. VIII., 3, 32) the rule P. I., 1, 67 (which concerns a term exhibited in the Ablative) is applied (in preference to P. I., 1, 66 which concerns a term exhibited in the Locative), because the Ablative (ङमः) in which (ङम्) is exhibited finds no scope elsewhere, whereas the Locative अचि in which (अच्) is exhibited serves a purpose in the subsequent rule P.

1. See above pag. 58, and note 2.

2. *I. e.* we have to apply P. I., 1, 67 and not P. I., 1, 66. P. VIII., 3, 32 teaches accordingly that ङमुट् is added to अच् when this follows upon ङम्.

VIII., 3, 33.[1] Where however, as *e. g.* in the case of P. VIII., 3, 29, both (the Locative in which one term is exhibited and the Ablative in which the other term is exhibited) serve no purpose (in any other rule), there (the sequence of the rules of Pâṇini's grammar) makes us decide in favour (of the application of P. I., 1, 67 which concerns a term exhibited in the Ablative) *viz.* because (this rule) P. I., 1, 67 *follows* upon the rule P. I., 1, 66 (which concerns a term exhibited in the Locative case). So it is also when both (the Locative and the Ablative) serve a purpose (in some other rule) which is the case *e. g.* in P. VII., 1, 52; here the Locative आमि serves a purpose in P. VII., 1, 53, (and) the Ablative आत्[2] (which is valid in P. VII., 1, 52 from P. VII., 1, 50) serves a purpose in P. VII., 1, 50. (All) this we find in the Bhâshya and Kaiyaṭa's (commentary) on P. I., 1, 66.[3]

1. Here then the Ablative is stronger than the Locative, *anavakâs'atvena*; in the other instances it is stronger *paratvena*.

2. The Ablative सर्वनाम्नः in P. VII., 1, 52 is *Vihita-panchamî* (भवन्नात्परस्य सर्वनाम्नो विहितस्य) and the rule P. I., 1, 67 does consequently not apply to it. P.

3. See Mahâbhâshya, Ed. Ballantyne, pag. 744-750.—P. adds the following: Where only the Locative is *anavakâs'a*, there it is stronger than the Ablative, as *e. g.* in P. VII., 2, 82 आने मुक्; here आने is *anavakâs'a*, but the Ablative आत: which is valid from P. VII., 2, 80 is *sâvakâs'a* in that rule; मुक् is accordingly added to that which precedes आन. In P. VI., 1, 75, 76 दीर्घात् पदान्ताद्वा the Ablative is *anavakâs'a*, and the Locative छे *sâvakâs'a*; nevertheless a Jnâpaka (Si. Kau. I., pag. 71) indicates that the Locative is stronger, and the augment तुक् is consequently added to the vowel which precedes छ. P. adduces another instance in which both the Locative and Ablative are *charitârtha* and where nevertheless the Locative is stronger than the Ablative, and concludes with the remark that the present Paribhâshâ is consequently not universally valid.

PARIBHÂSHÂ LXXI.

One might say that स् (which) by P. VIII., 3, 46 (is substituted *e. g.* for the Visarga of अयः in अयः+कुम्भ = अयस्कुम्भ) ought not (by the same rule) to have been substituted in अयस्कुम्भी (from अयः+कुम्भी), because only the word कुम्भ has been given (in P. VIII., 3, 46. The author of the Paribhâshâs) says therefore:

P. LXXI: A Prâtipadika denotes, whenever it is employed (in grammar), also (such a crude form) as is derived (from it) by the addition of (an affix denoting) gender.[1]

The meaning (of the Paribhâshâ) is this that, whenever a word, which denotes Prâtipadikas generally,[2] or denotes a particular Prâtipadika (or particular Prâtipadikas),[3] is employed (in grammar), it must be understood to denote also (such crude forms) as are derived (from the former) by the addition of an affix denoting gender; (and the word) अपि 'also' (shows that such a word denotes besides) also (those Prâtipadikas which) alone (would be denoted by it, if the present Paribhâshâ did not exist. The existence of) this (Paribhâshâ) is indicated by

1. The Prâtipadika कुम्भ in P. VIII., 3, 46 denotes accordingly not only कुम्भ, but also कुम्भी; similarly पाल in the same rule denotes not only पाल, but also पाली. For other instances see the Bhâshya on P. IV., 1, 1, below.

2. As *e. g.* प्रातिपदिक in P. IV., 1, 1; P. adds that, because the Paribhâshâ does apply to the word प्रातिपदिक in P. IV., 1, 1, the necessity of the expression ङ्याप् in that rule has been questioned in the Bhâshya. See below. See also Si. Kau. I., pag. 86.

3. विशेषरूपेण, प्रातिपदिकत्वव्याप्यधर्मविशिष्टबोधकशब्दोपादाने, Bhairavamisra.

the fact that we read in the (Gaṇa on the) rule[1] P. II., 1, 70 which occurs in the chapter (of rules) relating to (the composition of) coordinate (words),[2] the feminine words श्रमणा etc. ; this namely indicates (the existence of) the (Paribhâshâ), because (the words) श्रमणा etc. which end with a feminine affix, can be coordinate only with the word कुमारी, but not with the word कुमार (in P. II., 1, 70).[3]

It appears from the Bhâshya on P. IV., 1, 1, that this (Paribhâshâ) has no concern with the *Upapadas*[4] in rules like P. III., 2, 39; (nor with Prâtipadikas) in rules that teach (the addition of) *samâsânta* affixes;[5] (nor with महत् in the rule P. VI, 3, 46 which teaches) the substitution of आ for (the final of) महत्;[6] (nor with Prâtipadikas that fall

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1. सूत्रे *i. e.* सूत्रविषयकगणपाठे. P.

2. समानाधिकरणेन being valid from P. II., 1, 49.

3. The feminine words श्रमणा etc. in the Gaṇa on P. II., 1, 70 show that कुमार in P. II., 1, 70 must denote also कुमारी, and it can do so only by the present Paribhâshâ; but it must denote also कुमार itself, because only this can be coordinate with the masculine bases अध्यापक etc. which likewise have been enumerated in the Gaṇa श्रमणादि. Si. Kau. I., pag. 366.

4. *E. g.* द्विषत् which is *Upapada* (see P. III., 1, 92) in P. III., 2, 39 denotes only द्विषन्, and not also द्विषती. We form accordingly by P. III., 2, 39 द्विषंतप ; but when द्विषती is *Upapada*, we must form द्विषतीताप. See Si. Kau. II., pag. 333.

5. *E. g.* राजन् in P. V., 4, 91 denotes only राजन्, not also राज्ञी ; टच् is therefore by P. V., 4, 91 added *e. g.* to मद्रराजन् = मद्रराज, but not to मद्रराज्ञी. See Si. Kau. I., pag. 382; 113.

6. महत् in P. VI., 3, 46 denotes only महत्, not also महती ; we therefore apply P. VI., 3, 46 *e. g.* in महान्प्रियोऽस्य = महाप्रियः, but not in the case of महती प्रियास्य = महतीप्रियः. See P. VI., 3, 34.

under the rule P. VI, 1, 197 which teaches) the accent (of Prâtipadikas formed by means of affixes that are characterized) by an indicatory ञ् or न्;[1] (nor with ब्राह्मण and कुमार in the rule P. VI., 2, 59 which teaches) the accent of राजन् when (in a Karmadhâraya-compound) it is followed by ब्राह्मण or कुमार;[2] (nor with compound bases) in (accent) rules like P. VI., 2, 175 that are given with reference to the *whole* compound.[3] And from the same (Bhâshya it appears) likewise that (it does) not (concern a Prâtipadika in a rule which teaches) an operation caused by a (following) case-termination[4]. As regards the rules that teach (the addition of *samâsânta* affixes (which were mentioned) in the above, (the Paribhâshâ has) no (concern) only (with such Prâtipadikas) that may occur in them, as form *part* (of the compound to which the *samâsânta* affix is added),[5] but where the

1. P. VI., 1, 197 teaches accordingly the accent only of Prâtipadikas formed by means of *ñit* and *nit* affixes, but not of their feminine bases; *e. g.* it teaches the accent of दाक्षि (दक्ष+इञ्, P. IV., 1, 95), but not of दाक्षी (दाक्षि+ङीष्, P. IV., 1, 65).

2. P. VI., 2, 59 teaches therefore the accent of राजन् in राजब्राह्मण and राजकुमार, but not in राजब्राह्मणी and राजकुमारी.

3. P. VI., 2, 175 teaches therefore *e. g.* the accent of बहुगोमत् (बहवो गोमन्तोऽस्मिन्) but not of the feminine बहुगोमती (बहवो गोमन्तोऽस्याम्), *viz.* because बहुगोमत्, so far as the rule VI., 2, 175 is concerned, does not denote also बहुगोमती. Where a rule teaches the accent of *part* of a compound, there the Paribhâshâ *does* apply to the Prâtipadika which forms that part; कुशूल in P. VI., 2, 102 denotes therefore not only कुशूल, but also कुशूली, and कुशूली in कुशूलीविल is therefore by P. VI., 2, 102 *antodâtta*, just as कुशूल is by it *antodâtta* in कुशूलविल.

4. See Par. LXXII.

5. *E. g.* it has no concern with राजन् in P. V., 4, 91. See above pag. 364 note 5.

whole compound (base) is given (in such rules, the Paribhâshâ) does apply to it;[1] this follows from the circumstance that in the above (Bhâshya on P. IV., 1, 1) fault has been found (with the application of the Paribhâshâ) to whole compound bases, only when they occur in rules that teach their accent; and it follows besides from the Bhâshya on the rule P. IV., 1, 25.[2]

The above are all the cases in which (the Paribhâshâ), not being universally valid,[3] must not be applied; for it has been stated in the Bhâshya (on P. IV., 1, 1) that all faults whatsoever (that would arise from an indiscriminate application of the Paribhâshâ) have been enumerated (in the above).

Now one might object that (if) then (the above were the true meaning of this Paribhâshâ),[4] the Bhâshya[5] on the rule

1. Chitprabhâ: यथा शैषाद्विभाषा [५. ४. १५४] इति कथिते । एवं चेदं यथा महायज्ञाश्च इत्यत्र प्रवर्तते तथा बह्वृचो माला यस्या इति विग्रहे बहुव्रीहावुपसर्जनह्रस्वे पुनष्टापि प्रवर्तते ॥

2. *Scil.* where the Paribhâshâ *has* been applied to the compound base कुण्डोघस्. See below.

3. See Par. LXXII.

4. एवम्, *i. e.* परिभाषाया उक्तार्थीङ्गीकारे. P. Above it has been stated that this Paribhâshâ is applicable when a word is employed in grammar which either denotes Prâtipadikas generally (as प्रातिपदिक does in P IV., 1, 1), or denotes a particular Prâtipadika (such as कुमार् in P. II., 1, 70). Now one might say that as the word बहुव्रीहि which is valid in P. V., 4, 153, denotes neither the one nor the other, the Paribhâshâ ought not to be applied to it, and that the term Bahuvrîhi ought therefore to denote *e. g.* only the Prâtipadika कुण्डोघस्, but not its feminine कुण्डोघ्नी; that nevertheless कुण्डोघ्नी has in the Bhâshya on P. IV., 1, 25 been regarded as a Bahuvrîhi, and that the above interpretation of this Paribhâshâ must therefore be incorrect. See Râghavendrâchârya: ननु सामान्यरूपेण विशेषरूपेण चेत्युक्तत्वाद्बहुव्रीहित्वस्य रूपादिदेशेन सुजभोऽयं धर्म इति कथं शङ्कोत्थितिरिति चेत् । न । विशेषरूपेणत्यस्यानुपूर्वीविशेषरूपेणत्यर्थभ्रमेण तामुत्थाप्य प्रातिपदिकत्वव्याप्यार्थपरत्वेन समाधानात् ॥

5. See Bhâshya on P. IV., 1, 25: ऊङसो नकारो लिङ्गाधिकारे । ऊङसो

P. IV., 1, 25 would be improper; for there (it has been stated that the affix) कप् should by P. V., 4, 153 be added to कुण्डोघ्नी, the meaning (assumed to be conveyed by P. V., 4, 153 being this that कप् is added) to a Bahuvrîhi ending with a *nadî* (like ई);[1] this (statement) would be improper (if the Paribhâshâ did convey the above meaning), because (in that case कुण्डोघ्नी) which ends with the *nadî* (ई) would not (by this Paribhâshâ) be (denoted by the term) Bahuvrîhi (of P. V., 4, 153;[2] nor can

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नकारो लिङ्गाधिकारे वक्तव्यः । इह मा भूत् । महौघाः पर्जन्य इति ॥ न वा समासान्ताधिकारे स्त्रीग्रहणात् । न वा लिङ्गाधिकारे नकारः कर्तव्यः । किं कारणम् । समासान्ताधिकारे स्त्रीग्रहणात् । समासान्ताधिकार एव स्त्रीग्रहणं कर्तव्यम् ॥ इतरथा हि कखित्रिप्रसङ्गः । इतरथा हि कखित्रेः प्रसज्येत । कस्यां पुनरवस्थायां कप्प्राप्नोति । प्राङ् ङीषुत्पत्तेः । प्राक्तावन्न प्राप्नोति । किं कारणम् । न हि ङीष्भाषा । उत्पन्ने तर्हि ङीषि प्राप्नोति । उत्पन्ने चापि न भवितव्यम् । किं कारणम् । नञन्तानां यो बहुव्रीहिरित्येवं सः । न चैष नञन्तानां बहुव्रीहिः । प्रागेव तर्हि प्राप्नोति । ननु चोक्तं न हि ङीष्भाषेति । यद्यपि न ङीष्भाषा कतु विभाषा । कपोऽवकाशोऽन्यो बहुव्रीहिः । अयवकः । अव्रीहिकः । ङीषोऽवकाशः । विभाषा कव्यदा न कप्सोऽवकाशः । कुण्डोघ्नी वटोघ्नी । कप्प्रसङ्ग उभयं प्राप्नोति । परत्वात्कप्स्यात् । तस्मात्सुब्रूयते न वा समासान्ताधिकारे स्त्रीग्रहणादितरथा हि कखित्रिप्रसङ्ग इति ॥

Kaiyata: ऊधस इति । ऊधसोऽनङ् [५. ४. १३१] इति समासान्तप्रकरणे सूत्रमकृत्वा बहुव्रीहिरूधसो ङीष् नञेति वक्तव्यम् । तत्रालोऽन्त्यस्येत्यन्त्यस्य नकारो ङीष्प्रत्ययश्च स्त्रियां भवतीत्यर्थो भवति । धनुषोऽनङिति समासान्तेषु पठितव्यमेवं च महौघाः पर्जन्यः कुण्डोघो मैनुकमित्यनङ् न भवति ॥ न वेति । समासान्तप्रकरण एवोधसोऽनङ् स्त्रियामिति वक्तव्यम् । तत्रैवायमर्थः कर्तव्यम् । कप्समासान्तनिवृत्त्यर्थमित्यर्थः ॥ कस्यां पुनरिति । द्वावत्र कपौ नदीलक्षणो निमित्तः शैषलक्षणो विकल्पितश्च तत्र कस्य प्रसङ्ग इति प्रश्नः ॥ प्रागिति । शैषलक्षण इत्यर्थः ॥ न हि ङीष्विति । यत्र कप्स्यात् ङीष्विज्ञानमनवकाशं स्यादिति भावः । द्वयोस्तु विकल्पे सति परस्परपरिहारेण प्रवर्तनान्नास्ति ङीषोऽनवकाशत्वम् ॥ उत्पन्न इति । नदीलक्षण इत्यर्थः ॥

1. See P. I., 4, 3.

2. बहुव्रीहित्वस्य सुबन्तसमूहधर्मत्वेनान्यतररूपेण प्रातिपदिकाग्रहणात्परिभाषाप्रवृत्त्यभावेन तस्य तत्त्वाभावादित्यर्थः । बहुव्रीह्यर्थकवाक्यत्वाभावाच्चेत्यपि बोध्यम् ॥ P.

one say that the above statement has been made by the *Pûrva-pakshin*, from ignorance of the true state of the case, for the addition of कप् to कुण्डोघ्नी) has been rejected (not by the statement that कुण्डोघ्नी is *not* a Bahuvrîhi, but) by the (different) interpretation (of P. V., 4, 153) ' that (कप् is added to) a (Bahuvrîhi-) compound which has for its second member a noun the base of which ends with a *nadi*.'[1] (This objection would however be) futile, because the import (of the above statement from the Bhâshya in which कुण्डोघ्नी is regarded as a Bahuvrîhi) is this that, when a feminine affix has been added (to a base), the nature of a Prâtipadika and all those properties for the possession of which a base is termed a Prâtipadika, that may be found in the base void of the (feminine affix), are by this Paribhâshâ assigned also to the whole new base (which results from the addition of the feminine affix).[2]

1. The words नद्यन्तानां यः समासः are explained in the text by नद्यन्तप्रकृतिकमुत्तरपदकः समास इति, *scil.* तदाशयः.

2. एवं चान्यतररूपेण वस्तुनः प्रातिपदिकत्वादिवद्ग्रहणे सति तद्विशिष्टस्यापीति परिभाषार्थो बोध्यः. P.—कुण्डोघ्नस् being a Prâtipadika because it is a Bahuvrîhi-compound (P. I., 2, 46), its feminine कुण्डोघ्नी is likewise a Prâtipadika and a Bahuvrîhi-compound by the present Paribhâshâ, and it has therefore correctly been termed a Bahuvrîhi in the Bhâshya on P. IV., 1, 25.

Extract from the Bhâshya[1] on P. IV., 1, 1 :

ङ्याब्ग्रहणमनर्थकं प्रातिपदिकग्रहणे लिङ्गविशिष्टस्यापि ग्रहणात्। ङ्याब्ग्रहणमनर्थकम्। प्रातिपदिकग्रहणे लिङ्गविशिष्टस्यापि ग्रहणं भवतीत्येषा परिभाषा कर्तव्या। कः पुनरत्र विशेषः। एषा वा परिभाषा

1. Kaiyaṭa: लिङ्गविशिष्टस्येति। यथाकथंचित्प्रातिपदिकग्रहण एषा परिभाषोपतिष्ठते न तु प्रातिपदिकस्य स्वरूपग्रहण एवेति भावः॥ कः पुनरिति। ङ्याब्ग्रहणं लघु न तु

क्रियेत ङ्याब्ग्रहणं वा । अवश्यमेषा परिभाषा कर्तव्या । बहून्येतस्याः परिभाषायाः प्रयोजनानि । कानि । प्रयोजनं सर्वनामस्वरसमासतद्धितविधिलुगलुगर्थम् ॥ सर्वनामविधिः प्रयोजनम् । सर्वनाम्नः सुट् [७.१.५२] । इहैव स्यात् । येषां तेषाम् । यासां तासामित्यत्र न स्यात् । नैतदस्ति प्रयोजनम् । अवर्णान्तादाङ्धीयते । तत्रैकादेशः । एकादेशे कृतेऽन्तादिवद्भावात्सुड् भविष्यति ॥ इदं तर्हि प्रयोजनम् । सर्वनाम्नस्तृतीया च [२.३.२७] । इहैव स्यात् । भवता हेतुना भवतो हेतोरिति । भवत्या हेतुना भवत्या हेतोरित्यत्र न स्यात् । सर्वनाम ॥ स्वर । कुशूलकूपकुम्भशालं विले [६.२.१०२] । इहैव स्यात् । कुशूलविलम् । कुशूलीविलमित्यत्र न स्यात् । स्वर ॥ समास । द्वितीया श्रितादिभिः सह समस्यते [२.१.२४] इहैव स्यात् । कष्टं श्रितः कष्टश्रितः । कष्टं श्रिता कष्टश्रितेत्यत्र न स्यात् । एतदपि नास्ति प्रयोजनम् । श्रितशब्दोऽकारान्तः । तत्रैकादेशे कृतेऽन्तादिवद्भावाद्भविष्यति । इदं तर्हि । पूर्वसदृश [२.१.३१] इति । इहैव स्यात् । पित्रा सदृशः पितृसदृशः । पित्रा सदृशी पितृसदृशीत्यत्र न स्यात् । समास ॥ तद्धितविधि । अचित्तहस्तिधेनोष्ठक् [४.२.४७] । इहैव स्यात् । हस्तिनां समूहो हास्तिकम् । हस्तिनीनां समूहो हास्तिकमित्यत्र न स्यात् । एतदपि नास्ति प्रयोजनम् । पुंवद्भावेनैतत्सिद्धम् । इदं तर्हि । प्रमाणे द्वयसच् [५.२.३७] । यथेह भवति हस्तिद्वयसमेवं हस्तिनीद्वयसमित्यपि यथा स्यात् । तद्धितविधि ॥ लुक् । नेन्सिद्धबध्नातिषु च [६.३.१९] । इहैव स्यात् । स्थण्डिलशायी । स्थण्डिलशायिनीत्यत्र न स्यात् । लुक् ॥ अलुक् । शयवासवासिष्वकालात् [६.३.१८] । इहैव स्यात् । ग्रामेवासी । ग्रामेवासिनीत्यत्र न स्यात् ॥ मानिनि च विधिप्रतिषेधार्थम् । विध्यर्थं तावत् । क्यङ्मानिनोश्च [६.३.३६] । इहै-

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परिभाषेति भावः ॥ स्थण्डिलशायिनीति । गतिकारकोपपदानां कृद्भिः सह समासवचनं प्राक्सुबुत्पत्तेरिति वचनादनुत्पन्न एव कृपि समासे सति नान्तमेवोत्तरपदमित्यप्रयोजनमेतत् ।

व स्यात्। दर्शनीयमानी। दर्शनीयमानिनीत्यत्र न स्यात्॥ प्रतिषेधार्थमपि। वक्ष्यति स्वाङ्गाच्चेतोऽमानिनि [६.३.४०.१.]। तस्मिन्क्रियमाण इहैव स्यात्। दीर्घमुखमानी। दीर्घमुखमानिनीत्यत्र न स्यात्॥ प्रत्ययग्रहणोपचारेषु च प्रयोजनम्। तृजकाभ्यां कर्तरि [२.२.१५]। इहैव स्यात्। अपां स्रष्टा। अपां स्रष्ट्रीत्यत्र न स्यात्॥ उपचार। अतः कृकमिकंसकुम्म [८.३.४६]। इहैव स्यात्। अयस्कुम्भः। अयस्कुम्भीत्यत्र न स्यात्॥ एतान्येतस्याः परिभाषायाः प्रयोजनानि यदर्थमेषा परिभाषा कर्तव्या। एतस्यां च सत्यां नार्थो ङ्याब्ग्रहणेन॥

अतिप्रसङ्ग उपपदविधौ। उपपदविधावतिप्रसङ्गो भवति। द्विषत्परयोस्तापेः [३.२.३९] यथेह भवति द्विषंतप इत्येवं द्विषतीतापे इत्यत्रापि स्यात्॥ यञिञोः फक्यतिप्रसङ्गो भवति। यञिञोश्च [४.१.१०१] इति यथेह भवति गार्ग्यायणो दाक्षायण एवं गार्गेयो दाक्षेय इत्यत्रापि स्यात्। नैष दोषः। ढगत्र बाधको भविष्यति॥ समासान्तेषु चातिप्रसङ्गो भवति। राजाहःसखिभ्यष्टच् [५.४.९१] यथेह भवति मद्रराज एवं मद्रराज्ञीत्यत्रापि स्यात्। न वा भवति मद्रराजी। भवति यदा समासान्तादीकारः। लिङ्गविशिष्टग्रहणे त्वीकारान्तात्समासान्तः प्रसज्येत। तत्र को दोषः। पुंवद्भावष्टिलोपश्च तत्र मद्रराजीत्येतद्रूपं स्यान्मद्रराज्ञीति चेष्यते॥ महदात्वे प्रियादिष्वतिप्रसङ्गो भवति। आन्महतः समानाधिकरणजातीययोः [६.३.४६] इति यथेह भवति महान्प्रियोऽस्य महाप्रिय एवं महती प्रियास्य महतीप्रिय इत्यत्रापि स्यात्। किमुच्यते प्रियादिष्विति। यत्र पुंवद्भावः प्रतिषिध्यते यत्र तु न प्रतिषिध्यते भवितव्य-

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एवं ग्रामेवासिनी दर्शनीयमानिनी दीर्घमुखमानिनीत्यपि द्रष्टव्यम्॥ ढगत्रेति। परस्त्रादिति भावः॥ समासान्तादीकार इति। मद्रराजस्य भार्या मद्रराजीति पुंयोगादाख्यायाम् [४.१.४८] इति ङीष्॥ तत्र को दोष इति। टचि कृते यस्येति च [६.४.१४८] इतीकारे लुप्ते टित्त्वान् ङीपि कृते मद्रराज्ञीति सिध्यतीति प्रश्नः॥ यत्र पुंवद्भाव इति। तलापूरणीप्रियादिष्विति वचनात् [६.३.३४]॥ यत्र त्विति। महाजङ्घ इत्यादौ॥ दाक्षीति। इतो

मेव तत्रात्त्वेनेति ॥ ञ्नित्स्वरेऽतिप्रसङ्गो भवति । ञ्नित्यादिरुदात्तो भवति [६.१.१९७]। यथेह भवति दाक्षिरहिचुम्बकायनिरेवं दाक्ष्यहिचुम्बकायनीत्यत्रापि स्यात् ॥ राज्ञः स्वरे ब्राह्मणकुमारयोरतिप्रसङ्गो भवति । राजा च ब्राह्मणकुमारयोः [६. २. ५९] इति यथेह भवति राजब्राह्मणो राजकुमार एवं राजब्राह्मणी राजकुमारीत्यत्रापि स्यात् ॥ समाससंघातग्रहणेषु चातिप्रसङ्गो भवति। बहोर्नञ्वदुत्तरपदभूम्नि [६.२.१७५] यथेह भवति बहुगोमान्बहुयवमानेवं बहुगोमती बहुयवमतीत्यत्रापि स्यात् । किमुच्यते समासंघातग्रहणेष्वति । यदवयवग्रहणं प्रयोजनमेव तदस्याः परिभाषायाः कुशूलकूपकुम्भशालं बिले कुशूलीबिलमिति ॥ यथा विभक्तौ चोक्तम् । किमुक्तम् । न वा विभक्तौ लिङ्गविशिष्टाग्रहणादिति ॥ एतेऽस्याः परिभाषाया दोषा एतानि च प्रयोजनानि । एते दोषाः समा भूयांसो वा । तस्मान्नार्थोऽनया परिभाषया । न हि दोषाः सन्तीति परिभाषा न कर्तव्या लक्षणं च न प्रणेयम् । न हि भिक्षुकाः सन्तीति स्थाल्यो नाधिश्रीयन्ते । न च मृगाः सन्तीति यवा नोप्यन्ते । दोषाः खल्वपि साकल्येन परिगणिताः प्रयोजनानामुदाहरणमात्रम् । कुत एतत् । न हि दोषाणां लक्षणमस्तीति । तस्माद्यान्येतस्याः परिभाषायाः प्रयोजनानि तदर्थमेषा परिभाषा कर्तव्या प्रतिविधेयं दोषेषु ॥

मनुष्यजातेरिति [४.१.६५] ङीष्प्रत्ययस्वरेणान्तोदात्त इष्यते ॥ बहोर्नञ्वदिति । बहुशब्दादुत्तरपदबहुत्वे वर्तमानाद्यत्परं पदं तदन्तस्य समासस्य नञ इव स्वरो भवतीत्यतिदेशार्थः । तेन बहवो गोमन्तोऽस्य बहुगोमानित्यत्र नञ्सुभ्यामिति [६.२.१७२] समासस्यान्तोदात्तत्वं भवति ॥ बहुगोमतीति । बहवो गोमन्तोऽस्या इति बहुव्रीहिः । उगितश्च [४.१.६] इति ङीप् । समासोऽत्र संघातरूपः कार्यीति लिङ्गविशिष्टसमासाग्रहणात्समासान्तोदात्तत्वाभावादीकारः पित्त्वादनुदात्तो भवतीकारात्तु पूर्वं उदात्तो भवति ॥ कुशूलीबिलमिति । पूर्वपदस्यात्र कार्यित्वं न तु संघातस्येति पूर्वपदान्तोदात्तत्वं भवत्येव ॥ विभक्तौ चोक्तमिति । उगिदचाम [७.१.७०] इत्यत्रोक्तं यथा गोमानिति नुम् भवत्येवं गोमतीत्यत्रापि प्राप्नोति । तत्र परिहार उक्तो न वा विभक्तौ लिङ्गविशिष्टाग्रहणादिति विभक्त्याश्रयकार्ये क्रियमाणे लिङ्गविशिष्टपरिभाषा नेष्यत इत्यर्थः ॥ प्रतिविधेयमिति । अत्रप्रकरणे शक्तिलाङ्गलाङ्कुशीत्यत्र वार्त्तिके घटग्रहणेनैव घटीग्रहणे सिद्धे घटीग्रहणमस्याः परिभाषाया अनित्यत्वज्ञापनार्थं तेनानिष्टे विषये नोपतिष्ठते ॥

PARIBHÂSHÂ LXXII.

Now one might say that (if) then (Paribhâshâ LXXI. were adopted, युवन् in P. VI., 4, 133 ought to denote also युवति, and in that case) the Samprasâraṇa (उ) ought by P. VI., 4, 133 to be substituted also (for the व of युवति) in युवतीः पश्य, just as it is substituted (by P. VI., 4, 133 for the व of युवन्) in यूनः पश्य. (The author of the Paribhâshâs) says therefore:

P. LXXII: (A Prâtipadika in a rule that teaches an operation which affects the Prâtipadika) before a case-termination (or which affects a case-termination after the Prâtipadika), does not denote (a crude form) derived (from the Prâtipadika) by the addition of (an affix denoting) gender.[1]

1. Kaiyaṭa on P. VII., 1, 1 explains the Paribhâshâ first by विभक्तौ यत्कार्यं विधीयते लिङ्गविशिष्टस्य तत्र भवतीत्यर्थः, and subsequently he explains the words विभक्तौ यत्कार्यम् by 'विभक्तेर्यत्कार्यं यच्च विभक्तौ परतः कार्यं तत्सर्वं विभक्तौ कार्यम्.' Accordingly the Samprasâraṇa उ which by P. VI., 4, 133 is substituted for the व of युवन् before the termination आस् of the Acc. Plur., is not substituted for the व of युवति in the Acc. Plur.; in like manner is the termination आ of the Instr. Sing., which by P. VI., 1, 182 is *anudâtta* after श्वन्, not by the same rule *anudâtta* after शुनी, *viz.* because युवन् in P. VI., 4, 133 and श्वन् in P. VI., 1, 182 denote only युवन् and श्वन्, and do not denote at the same time their feminine bases युवति and शुनी. The Acc. Plur. of युवति is therefore युवतीः, and शुन्या is *antodâtta* by P. VI., 1, 174.— P. adds that because the present Paribhâshâ is applicable to युवन् in P. VI., 4, 133, we need not have recourse to the alternative proposed in the Bhâshya on P. VI., 4, 133

This is found in the Bhâshya on P. VII., 1, 1 (where it is given as a separate Paribhâshâ). Others assume that, because Par. LXXI. is (shown to be) not universally valid by the fact that (in a Vârttika on P. III., 2, 9) घटी as well as घट are actually enumerated,[1] (what is taught in) the present (Paribhâshâ) follows already from that (very circumstance that Par. LXXI. is not universally valid, and that the present is therefore not a new and separate Paribhâshâ).

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viz. that अन: should be supplied in P. VI., 4, 133 from P. VI., 4, 134. (See Si. Kau. I., pag. 160); should that alternative be adopted nevertheless, then गोमान्, गोमती etc. would be instances for the present Paribhâshâ. (See Bhâshya and Kaiyaṭa on P. VII., 1, 1, below).—See Bhâshya on P. VI., 4, 133:

श्वादीनां संप्रसारणे नकारान्तग्रहणमनकारान्तप्रतिषेधार्थम् । श्वादीनां संप्रसारणे नकारान्तग्रहणं कर्तव्यम् । किं प्रयोजनम् । अनकारान्तस्य मा भूत् । मघवता मघवते ॥ तथा प्रातिपदिकग्रहणे लिङ्गविशिष्टस्यापि ग्रहणं भवतीति यथेह भवति युनः पड्येत्येवं युवतीः पड्येत्यत्रापि स्यादिति ॥ यत्तावदुच्यते नकारान्तग्रहणं कर्तव्यमिति न कर्तव्यम् । उक्तं वा । किमुक्तम् । उक्तमेतत् । अर्वणस्त्रसावनञः ॥ अर्वणस्त्र मघोनश्च न शिष्यं छान्दसं हि तदिति ॥ यदप्युच्यते तथा प्राति——स्यादिति लिङ्गविशिष्टग्रहणे चोक्तम् । न वा विभक्तौ लिङ्गविशिष्टग्रहणादिति ॥ अथवोपरिष्टाद्योगविभागः करिष्यते । श्वयुवमघोनामतद्धिते ॥ अङ्क्रोपः । अकारस्य च लोपो भवति ॥ ततोऽन इत्युभयोः शेषः ॥

Extract from Kaiyaṭa: न वा विभक्ताविति । यद्यपि विभक्तिमाश्रित्य संप्रसारणं न विधीयते तथापि विभक्तौ विधीयत इति लिङ्गविशिष्टपरिभाषानुपस्थानम् ॥ अन इत्युभयोः शेष इति । समुदायापेक्षणात् । न च नादेशे कृतेऽनन्तत्वमस्ति । एकदेशविकृतस्यानन्यत्वेनाप्यनन्तत्वं नास्ति सामान्यातिदेशे विशेषानतिदेशात् । युवतिशब्दोऽप्यनन्तो न भवतीति तस्यापि संप्रसारणाभावः ॥

1. *Scil.* which would have been superfluous if Par. LXXI. were universally valid, because in that case घट alone would have denoted not only घट but also घटी.

Extract from the Bhâshya[1] on P. VII., 1, 1 :

विभक्तौ लिङ्गविशिष्टग्रहणं नेत्येषा परिभाषा कर्तव्या।.... अवश्यमेषा परिभाषा कर्तव्या। बहून्येतस्याः परिभाषायाः प्रयोजनानि। कानि। प्रयोजनं शुनः स्वरे। यथेह भवति **शुना** शुने **शुन्या** शुन्यायित्यत्रापि स्यात्॥ यूनः संप्रसारणे प्रयोजनम्। यथेह भवति यूनः पश्येत्येवं **युवतीः** पश्येत्यत्रापि स्यात्॥ उगिदचां नुम्विधौ प्रयोजनम्। यथेह भवति गोमान्यवमानेवं गोमती यवमतीत्यत्रापि स्यात्॥ अनडुह आम्विधौ प्रयोजनम्। यथेह भवत्यनड्वानित्येवमनडुहीत्यत्रापि स्यात्। न वा भवत्यनड्वाहीति। भवत्यन्येन यत्नेन। आमनडुहः स्त्रियां वा [७.१.९८.१] इति। लिङ्गविशिष्टग्रहणादीकारान्तस्य प्राप्नोति॥ पथिमथोरात्वे प्रयोजनम्। यथेह भवति पन्था मन्था एवं पथी मथीत्यत्रापि प्राप्नोति। न केवलः पथिशब्दः स्त्रियां वर्तते। उपसमस्तस्तर्हि वर्तते। **सुपथी**॥ पुंसोऽसुङ्विधौ प्रयोजनम्। यथेह भवति पुमानेवं पुंसीत्यत्रापि स्यात्। न केवलः पुंशब्दः स्त्रियां वर्तते। उपसमस्तस्तर्हि वर्तते। **सुपुंसीति**॥ सख्युर्णित्त्वानडौ प्रयोजनम्। यथेह भवति स-

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1. Kaiyaṭa: विभक्ताविति। विभक्तौ यत्कार्यं विधीयते लिङ्गविशिष्टस्य तत्र भवतीत्यर्थः॥ शुनेति। सावेकाचः [६.१.१६८] इति प्राप्तं विभक्तेरुदात्तत्वं न गोश्वन् [६.१.१८२] इति प्रतिषिध्यते॥ शुन्येति। गौरादिभ्यश्च ङीषि कृत उदात्तयणो हल्पूर्वात् [६.१.१७४] इत्यस्य विभक्तिस्वरस्य प्रतिषेधप्रसङ्गः। ननु विभक्तेरेतत्कार्यं न तु विभक्तौ परतः पूर्वस्येति कथं लिङ्गविशिष्टपरिभाषायाः प्रतिषेधः। नैष दोषः। विभक्तेर्यत्कार्यं यच्च विभक्तौ परतः कार्यं तत्सर्वं विभक्तौ कार्यमिति सर्वत्र प्रतिषेधप्रवृत्तिः॥ एवं युवतीरिति। एवमर्थमन इत्युभयोः ङीष इति नाश्रयितव्यं भवति॥ पथीति। समासेकदेश उदाहृतः। इतर एतावदेवोदाहृतमिति मत्वाह न केवल इति॥ सुपथीति। शोभनः पन्था अस्यामिति बहुव्रीहिः। न पूजनात् [५.४.६९] इति समासान्तप्रतिषेधः। भृञ्जेभ्यो ङीर् [४.१.५] इति ङीप्। भस्य टेर्लोपः [७.१.८८] इति टिलोपः॥ सुपुंसीति। शोभनाः पुमांसोऽस्यामिति बहुव्रीहिः। उरःप्रभृतिषु पुमानिति विभक्त्यन्तपाठस्य प्रयोजनमुक्तमेकवचनान्तस्यैव नित्यः कप्यथा स्यादिति तेनान्न ङीषाद्विभाषा [५.४.१५४] इति विकल्पो भवति। पानेरुन्मसुन् [उण° ४.१७७]

खा सखायौ सखाय एवं सखी सख्यौ सख्य इत्यत्रापि प्राप्नोति ॥ भवद्भगवदघवतामोद्भावे प्रयोजनम् । यथेह भवति भो भगो अघो इत्येवं भवति भगवत्यघवतीत्यत्रापि स्यात् ॥ एतान्यस्याः परिभाषायाः प्रयोजनानि यदर्थमेषा परिभाषा कर्तव्या ॥

इति प्रत्ययस्योगित्त्वादुगितश्च [४.१.६] इति ङीप् ॥ सखी सख्याविति । सख्यशिश्वीति भाषायाम् [४.१.६२] इति ङीष् । अनङ्णित्त्वे अत्र प्राप्नुतः । ङीष्विधानं तु सखीभ्यामित्याद्यर्थं स्यात् ॥ भवद्भगवादिति । यदा संबुद्ध्या भवदादयो विशेष्यन्ते तदा भवत्यादीनामपि प्रसङ्गो यदा त्ववशब्दो विशेष्यते तदा येन नाव्यवधानमित्येकवर्णव्यवधान ओत्त्वं प्रवर्तते भवत्यादौ तु वर्णद्वयव्यवधानादोत्त्वाभावस्तदभावात्तत्संनियोगविहितस्य सुत्वस्याप्यभाव इति केचिदाहुः ॥

PARIBHÂSHÂ LXXIII.

One might say that, because in (the rule) P. IV., 1, 92 (which teaches the addition of certain affixes in the sense of 'descendant of', the word for descendant *viz.* अपत्य) has been put down in the singular number and neuter gender, (those affixes) ought not to be added to denote *e. g.* a *male* descendant of Garga, or *two male* descendants of Garga. To refute this (the author of the Paribhâshâs) says:

P. LXXIII: The (particular) gender and number (in which a word is put down) in a rule, are not (intended) to teach anything.[1]

1. *E. g.* The fact that तस्य in P. IV., 1, 92 is *masculine*, is not meant to teach that the affixes referred to in P. IV., 1, 92 are added only to *masculine* bases; nor does the circumstance that अपत्यम् in the same rule is *singular* and *neuter*, forbid the addition of the same affixes in case we wish to denote one or *more male* descendants.—अनन्तम् is equivalent to अप्रमाणम्.—See Bhâshya on P. IV., 1, 92:

पुंलिङ्गेनार्थ निर्देशः क्रियत एकवचनान्तेन च तेन पुंलिङ्गादेवोत्पत्तिः स्यादेकवचना-

The fact that (Pâṇini) employs the word नपुंसकम् 'neuter' in II., 2, 2 (in order that अर्ध which is qualified by नपुंसक may be taken as the *neuter* अर्ध, and notwithstanding that अर्ध itself is put down in the neuter gender, *viz.* as अर्धम्,) indicates (the existence of) this (Paribhâshâ).[1] That the (word नपुंसकम् in P. II., 2, 2) is *not* intended (to teach that we should understand by अर्ध the अर्ध) which is *always* neuter, (in other words, that 'अर्ध which signifies exactly equal parts, *i. e.* halves, and which in that sense is always neuter'), has been shown elsewhere.[2] In[3] the Bhâshya on P. IV., 1, 92 we see it stated that (their particular gender and a particular number) are given to the

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न्ताच्च स्त्रीनपुंसकलिङ्गाद्द्विवचनबहुवचनान्ताच्चेदं न स्यात् । तद्धितार्थनिर्देशे लिङ्गवचनमप्रमाणं तस्याविवक्षितत्वात् । तद्धितार्थनिर्देशे लिङ्गवचनमप्रमाणम् । किं कारणम् । तस्याविवक्षितत्वात् । नात्र निर्देशस्तन्त्रम् । कथं पुनस्तेनैव च नाम निर्देशः क्रियते तच्चातन्त्रं स्यात् । तत्कारी च भवांस्तद्वेषी च । नान्तरीयकत्वादत्र पुंलिङ्गेन निर्देशः क्रियत एकवचनान्तेन च । अवश्यं कयाचिद्विभक्त्या केनचिच्च वचनेन निर्देशः कर्तव्यः । तद्यथा कश्चिदन्नार्थी शालिकलापं सतुषं सपलालमाहरति नान्तरीयकत्वात्स यावदादेयं तावदादाय तुषपलालान्युत्सृजति तथा कश्चिन्मांसार्थी मत्स्यान्सशकलान्सकण्टकानाहरति नान्तरीयकत्वात्स यावदादेयं तावदादाय शकलकण्टकान्युत्सृजत्येवमिहापि नान्तरीयकत्वात्पुंलिङ्गेन निर्देशः क्रियत एकवचनान्तेन च न त्वत्र निर्देशस्तन्त्रम् ॥

Kaiyaṭa: स्त्रीनपुंसकलिङ्गादिति । सुमानुरपत्यं स्त्रीमात्रः अलस्यापत्यं क्षालिरित्यादावित्यर्थः ॥ तद्धितार्थनिर्देश इति । तद्धितप्रकरणादेवमुक्तम् । सर्वत्रैव हि शास्त्रेऽस्मिन्नान्तरीयकत्वादुपात्तं लिङ्गं संख्या च न विवक्ष्यते । क्वचित्संख्या तु विवक्ष्यते यथा सुप्सु पेति ॥ अप्रमाणमिति । तद्वशात्कार्यस्य विधिनिषेधौ न भवत इत्यर्थः । भावसूत्रे विस्तरेण भाष्यमेतद्व्याख्यातमिति तत एवावधार्यम् ॥ .—Cf. also Bhâshya on P. III., 3, 18

1. If the present Paribhâshâ did not exist, अर्धम् would by itself denote the *neuter* अर्ध, and नपुंसकम् would be superfluous.

2. *Viz.* in the S'abdendus'ekhara where it has been shown that अर्ध when it means 'a half' is not necessarily neuter. P.

3. भाष्ये तु युक्तिसिद्धत्वमुक्तमस्या इत्याह भाष्येति । P.

words (that occur in the rules of grammar) because (words) cannot be without[1] (some gender and number), as little as it would be possible in ordinary life to get corn without straw.—(Because then the present Paribhâshâ must be adopted) therefore the word एका in P. I., 4, 1 does serve a purpose.[2] More hereof elsewhere.[3]

1. See Kaiyaṭa on P. III., 3, 18: अन्तरशब्दो गहादिषु पठ्यते स च विनार्थे वर्तते। अन्तरे भवमन्तरीयम्। तत्र नञ्समासे कृते पृषोदरादित्वाद्वाप्यकारवचनप्रामाण्याद्वा नलोपाभावः। ततः स्वार्थे कन्प्रत्ययः॥

2. If the Paribhâshâ did not exist, the singular संज्ञा in P. I., 4, 1 would by itself mean '*one* Samjuâ' and एका would be superfluous.

3. अन्यत्र *i. e.* शेखरादौ. P.

PARIBHÂSHÂ LXXIV.

One might say that the (affix) क्यङ् which by P. III., 1, 12 may be added to भृश etc. when they do not end with (the affix) च्वि, to denote the meaning expressed by (the root) भू, may be added (to भृश) also in the phrase क्व दिवा भृशा भवन्ति 'where are the (stars that were) visible (by night,) in day-time'?[1] (The author of the Paribhâshâs) says therefore:

P. LXXIV: (An expression) formed by the addition of (the negative) नञ् or of (the particle of comparison)

1. In other words, one might say that it is by P. III., 1, 12 allowed to say क्व दिवा भृशायन्ते instead of क्व दिवा भृशा भवन्ति, *viz.* because भृ in this phrase does not end with च्वि, and is in construction with अवन्ति. Si. Kau. II., pag. 226 explains the above sentence by ये रात्रौ भृशा तेजोदर्शनस्ते दिवा क्व भवन्ति, Kaiyaṭa on P. III., 1, 12 by ये भृशा आलोकाभावे सति क्व प्रदेशे भवन्ति.

इव to (some word or other) denotes something which is different from and (yet) similar to (what is denoted by the latter), because it is so that (such expressions) are (generally) understood (in ordinary life).

(Wherever) we see (in a rule) any (term) which is formed either by the addition of (the negative) नञ् or by that of इव to (some other word), we know that the operation (which is taught in the rule must take effect) in something which differs from, (and is at the same time) similar to, that (which is denoted by that other word), because it is so that (such terms) are (generally) understood (in ordinary life);[1] for when (somebody) has been told ('अब्राह्मणमानय' *i. e.*) to fetch a non-Brâhman, and has thereupon brought a lump of earth, he is not considered to have done what he ought to have done.[2] Accordingly क्यङ् (can be added by P. III., 1, 12 *e. g.* to भूश only) when it does not end with च्वि, and is yet similar to words that do end with च्वि, *i. e.* when the sense to be expressed is this that that which formerly was not (भूश), becomes or is (भूश; no such meaning being conveyed by the words भूशा भवन्ति) in the above-mentioned phrase, it follows that (in this case we are not allowed to apply the rule P. III., 1, 12, and that consequently) no incorrect form

1. तादृश एवार्थैः प्रतीयत इत्यर्थः। लोक इति शेषः। तदाह न ह्यति। तथा च लोकन्यायसिद्धेयमिति भावः॥ P.

2. In ordinary life अब्राह्मण denotes one who, though he is not a Brâhman, is yet similar to a Brâhman, *e. g.* a Kshatriya, but it cannot denote *e. g.* a lump of earth. In the same manner the term अच्वि in P. III., 1, 12 tells us that क्यङ् is added to भूश etc. when they do not end with च्वि and are yet similar to words that end with च्वि *i. e.* when they are employed like the latter अभूततद्भावविषये. See P. V., 4, 50.

can result (from its application). One[1] should understand that the employment of the words विभक्ति 'case-termination' etc. in P. VI., 3, 132 etc. (in addition to the words अप्रथमा etc. in the same rules) merely tells us what is established already by the present maxim; that those[2] who maintain that (the employment of those words) विभक्ती etc. indicates that the present (maxim) is not universally valid, are hereby refuted, *viz.* because even if it were (regarded as) not universally valid, there would not accrue from that circumstance any result admitted (to be derived from it) in the Bhâshya; and that for this very reason (*viz.* that the Paribhâshâ is in reality universally valid) the word कारके which occurs in the rule P. III., 3, 19 has in the Bhâshya been rejected (as superfluous).[3]

This (Paribhâshâ) is found in the Bhâshya[4] on P. III., 1, 12;

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1. Now one might object that, if the present Paribhâshâ were adopted, विभक्तौ in P. VI., 3, 132, or कारके in P. III., 3, 19 would be superfluous, because अप्रथमायाम् in P. VI., 3, 132 and अकर्तरि in P. III., 3, 19 alone would by this very Paribhâshâ mean any *case-termination*, and any *Kâraka* except the first and except the *Kartri*. Nâgojibhaṭṭa adds therefore: 'One should understand.....'

2. Siradeva and others.

3. *Viz.* by means of the present Paribhâshâ. (Bhâshya on P. III., 3, 19 एवमिहाप्यकर्तरीति कर्तुः प्रतिषेधादन्यस्मिन्नकर्तरि कर्तृसदृशे कार्यं विज्ञायते । किं चान्यदकर्तृ कर्तृसदृशम् । कारकम् ।).

4. See Bhâshya on P. III., 1, 12: ननु चोक्तमिह कस्मान्न भवति क्व दिवा भूशा भवन्तीति । नञिवयुक्तमन्यसदृशाधिकरणे तथा ह्यर्थगतिः । नञ्युक्तमिवयुक्ते वा यत्किंचिदिह दृश्यते ऽन्यस्मिंस्तत्सदृशे कार्यं विज्ञायते । तथा ह्यर्थो गम्यते । अब्राह्मणमानयेत्युक्ते ब्राह्मणसदृश एवानीयते नासौ लोष्टमानीय कृती भवति । एवमिहाप्यकर्तरीति प्रतिषेधादन्यस्मिन्नुच्यन्ते त्विसदृशे कार्यं विज्ञायते । किं चान्यदतो ऽन्यन्तं त्विसदृशम् । अभूततद्भावः ॥

Cf. also the Bhâshya on P. VII., 1, 37 (above pag. 146), and elsewhere

by[1] saying in ,it अन्यसदृश (its author) shows that similarity does not imply difference, and this has been considered in the Manjûshâ.

1. According to the Naiyâyikas similarity implies difference (तद्भिन्नत्वे सति तद्भूतभूयोधर्मवत्त्वं सादृश्यम्); if their definition were adopted, the word अन्य in the Paribhâshâ would be superfluous. Nâgojibhaṭṭa adds therefore: 'by saying....' An example for इव is सोमः= सोम इव (P. V., 3, 96 and 103), *i. e.* सोमसदृशस्तद्भिन्नः.

PARIBHÂSHÂ LXXV.

One might say that in the case of व्याघ्री, कच्छपी etc. (the feminine affix) ङीष् ought not to have been added by P. IV., 1, 63, because (वि+घ्र and कच्छ) are compounded (with घ्र and प) after the addition (to the latter) of a case-termination;[1] (previously namely to this addition of a case-termination the feminine affix टाप् must be added to घ्र and प because its addition) is *antaranga* even in regard to that of the former[2], and when टाप् has thus been added, we have (no longer a base) ending in short अ (to which P. IV., 1, 63 could be applicable. The author of the Paribhâshâs) says therefore:

P. LXXV: It should be stated that Gatis, Kârakas and Upapadas[3] are compounded with (bases)

1. The supposition being that सुप् of P. II., 1, 4 is valid in P. II, 2, 19 and in the rule गतिः which we obtain when we take गति in P. II., 2, 18 as a separate rule. It will be shown in the sequel that in reality सुप् is *not* valid.—See Si. Kau. I., pag. 378, 379 and notes.

2. See above pag. 261.

3. The meaning of the terms *Gati*, and *Upapada* which is an *anvarthasamjnâ* (see above pag. 95: P. explains it उप समीप उच्चारितं पदम्)

that end with) Kṛit-affixes[1] before a case-termination (or feminine affix) has been added (to the latter).[2]

As the word अतिङ् occurs in P. II., 2, 19 and has to be supplied (also for the rule गतिः which we obtain by taking गति) in P. II., 2, 18 (as a separate rule),[3] and as the meaning (of those rules) accordingly is this that an (Upapada or Gati) compound does not end with a तिङ् or personal termination, it follows that सुपा of (P. II., 1, 4) can no longer be valid in those two rules;[4] this proves, that part (of the Paribhâshâ *viz.* that portion of it which relates to Gatis and Upapadas) has to be

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is sufficiently clear from P. I., 4, 60 etc. and P. III., 1, 92. *Kâraka* I would translate now by 'a noun the case-termination of which denotes a relation that obtains between what is expressed by the base of the noun and an action denoted by a verbal form.' See P. I., 4, 23.

1. कृद्भिः । तैरेव सह । एवव्यावर्त्यं ध्वनयन्नाह प्रागिति ॥ P. In the Bhâshya on P. IV., 1, 48 where the objects of this Paribhâshâ are stated at length, the words प्राक् सुबुत्पत्तेः are omitted.

2. The term सुप् in सुबुत्पत्तेः must be intended to denote a feminine affix as well as a case-termination. See Bhairavamiśra: अत्र प्राक् सुबुत्पत्तेरित्यस्योत्तरपदे प्राक् सुबुत्पत्तेरित्यर्थः । तेन चर्मकीत इत्यत्र पूर्वस्य पदत्वान्नलोपसिद्धिः ॥ सुग्ग्रहणं च स्त्रीप्रत्ययस्याप्युपलक्षणम् । अन्यथा पूर्वोपस्थितनिमित्तकत्वेनान्तरङ्गत्वात्स्त्री-प्रत्ययोत्पत्त्यनन्तरं समासे पूर्वोक्तानुपपत्तितादवस्थ्यं स्यात् ॥.—Accordingly the Gatis नि+आ are compounded *e. g.* with the Kṛit ग्र before any feminine or case-affix is added to the latter; the form which results is न्याग्र; to this we add in the feminine ङीष् by P. IV., 1, 63, and obtain thus न्याग्री; an example of a Kâraka is अश्वकीत, अश्वकीती below; of an Upapada, कच्छप, कच्छपी above.

3. गतिश्चेति विभक्तसूत्रे. P.

4. *Viz.* because अतिङ् would be superfluous if सुपा were valid. See above pag. 250, note 2. Upapadas and Gatis are accordingly by P. II., 2, 18 and 19 not compounded with *subanta* primary nouns, but they are

admitted (as correct), and thereby the (Paribhâshâ) is established also so far as regards that portion of it which relates to Kârakas; by (adopting it also for the latter we are enabled to show that) अश्वक्रीती is formed correctly.[1] If, on the other hand,[2] (the feminine affix) टाप् had been (added to क्रीत) previously (to its composition with अश्व), we should have had no (base) ending with short अ, and in that case ङीष् could not have been added by P. IV., 1, 50. As this (Paribhâshâ) is not universally valid, composition takes sometimes also place after the addition of a case-termination (or feminine affix to the base that ends with the Kṛit-affix; such has been the case) *e. g.* in (the formation of धनक्रीता which occurs in the phrase) सा हि तस्य धनक्रीता. Others however say that there is nothing to prove that (the Paribhâshâ) is not universally valid, and that in the case (of धनक्रीता) टाप् has been added (by P. IV., 1, 4) because (धनक्रीत) is one of the words अज etc. (which by P. IV., 1, 4 take टाप् in the feminine.)

Because then (the Paribhâshâ is valid also for Kârakas,) the (formation of a) Genitive (Tatpurusha-) compound must likewise take place *before* the addition of a case-termination (or feminine affix to the second member) in case (we wish to form such a compound) *e. g.* of कुम्भ and कार;[3] and when no Genitive (Tatpurusha-) compound is formed, the meanings (of

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compounded with primary nouns before a case-termination (or feminine affix) is added to the latter.

1. *I. e.* अश्व is compounded with क्रीत before a feminine affix is added to the latter; the result is अश्वक्रीत; to this we add ङीष् by P. IV., 1, 50, and obtain thus अश्वक्रीती.

2. अन्यथा *i. e.* एतदनङ्कारे. P.

3. कुम्भस्य कार = कुम्भकार by P. II., 2, 8; the Genitive कुम्भस्य results from P. II., 3, 65, and is therefore a *Kâraka*.

कुम्भ and कार) are united by means of an Upapada-compound ;[1] so that no (such) phrase (as कुम्भस्य कारः can) here (be employed instead of कुम्भकारः);[2] this is clear from the Bhâshya on P. II., 2, 19.[3] For there (we have first) the Vârttika 'that (in the case of कुम्भकार etc.) an Upapada-compound should in accordance with P. I., 4, 2 be formed in preference to a Genitive (Tatpurusha-) compound ;'[4] and subsequently as an alternative the refutation of it 'that the Genitive (Tatpurusha-) compound is formed (only) optionally, and that when such a compound is not formed, an Upapada-compound has to be formed'.[5] Although the author of the Vârttikas has stated that (even) without (the

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1. P. II., 2, 19 and III., 2, 1.

2. P. तथा चाग्रिग्रहत्वे नित्यसमासत्वज्ञाप्यषष्ठीसमासेऽप्यन्तोदात्तादुत्तरपदात् [६.१. १६९] इत्यस्याप्रवृत्त्या न षष्ठ्युपपदसमासयोस्तत्र विशेष इति स एवास्तीति भावः ॥.—If compounds such as कुम्भकार, as Shashṭhi-samâsas, could be dissolved (कुम्भकारः = कुम्भस्य कारः), they would be *anitya*; Upapada-samâsas however are *nitya*; consequently such compounds would in certain cases have a different accent if regarded as Shashṭhi-samâsas, from what they would have as Upapada-samâsas. It is therefore stated that, even when they are regarded as Shashṭhi-samâsas, they cannot be dissolved.

3. See Bhâshya on P. II., 2, 19: षष्ठीसमासादुपपदसमासो विप्रतिषेधेन ॥ षष्ठीसमासादुपपदसमासो भवति विप्रतिषेधेन । षष्ठीसमासस्यावकाशो राज्ञः पुरुषो राजपुरुषः। उपपदसमासस्यावकाशः स्रुग्मेरमः कर्णेजपः । इहोभयं प्राप्नोति कुम्भकारो नगरकारः । उपपदसमासो भवति विप्रतिषेधेन ॥

न वा षष्ठीसमासाभावादुपपदसमासः ॥ न वार्थो विप्रतिषेधेन । किं कारणम् । षष्ठीसमासस्याभावादुपपदसमासो भविष्यति । गतिकारकोपपदानां कृद्भिः सह समासवचनं प्राक् सुबुत्पत्तेरिति समासवचनात् ॥

अथवा विभाषा षष्ठीसमासो यदा न षष्ठीसमासस्तदोपपदसमासो भविष्यति ॥

Viz. because the formation of the former is taught in P. II., 2, that of the latter in the *preceding* rule P. II., 2, 8.

P. उपपदम् [२.२.१९] इति सूत्रविहितसमाससंज्ञा तत्पुरुषसंज्ञा च स्थास्यतीत्यर्थः॥

above first Varttika) an Upapada-compound would be formed in preference to a Genitive (Tatpurusha-) compound, because, as he thereby intimates, the Upapada-compound is *antaranga* (in regard to the Genitive Tatpurusha-compound,)[1] nevertheless the (passage from the) Bhâshya which was quoted above 'that the Genitive (Tatpurusha-) compound is formed (only) optionally...' is calculated to refute both the above (statements of the author of the Vârttikas),[2] because we derive from the (present) Paribhâshâ which speaks of Kârakas generally, the meaning that the composition of a noun, which ends with a case-termination denoting a Kâraka[3], with primary nouns, always takes place *before* the addition of a case-termination (or feminine affix) to the latter. Hereby the view is refuted that this (Paribhâshâ) is applicable only when (the word) कारक

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1. *Viz.* because, in the opinion of the author of the Vârttikas, the Upapada-samâsa is formed of कुम्भ–अम्+कार, the Shashṭhî-samâsa of कुम्भ–अस्+कार–स्, *i. e.* after the case-termination स् has been added to कार, सुप् being, in his opinion, valid in P. II., 2, 8, but not in P. II., 2, 19.

2. The statement of Patanjali अथवा... refutes both the preceding Vârttikas. There is no Vipratishedha between the Shashṭhî-samâsa and Upapada-samâsa; the former is formed only optionally, and on the alternative that it is not formed, an Upapada-samâsa is formed. Nor is the Upapada-samâsa *antaranga* in regard to the Shashṭhî-samâsa, for the latter like the former is formed *before* the addition of a case-termination to कार; therefore what was stated above is valid also here; the Shashṭhî-samâsa is formed only optionally, and, on the alternative that it is not formed, an Upapada-samâsa is formed.

3. The Genitive-termination of कुम्भस्य in कुम्भस्य कार does denote the Kâraka *Karman* (see P. II., 3, 65), and therefore the present Paribhâshâ is applicable in the formation of the Shashṭhî-samâsa कुम्भकार.

or a particular Kâraka occurs[1] (in a rule that teaches the formation of a compound; it is) further (refuted by the fact) that this Paribhâshâ does not unite with (certain) rules (of Pâṇini's) so as to form together with them one rule, (but) teaches like the Vipratishedha-rule P. I., 4, 2, that one operation must take place in preference to another, and that we therefore cannot arrive at the meaning (that it applies) '*only* when (the word कारक or a particular Kâraka) occurs (in a rule).'[2]

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1. Chitprabhâ: कारकतद्विशेषेति | अत्र कारकपदोपादानेन कुलालादि समासविधाना-भावात्तद्विशेषोपादान एवेत्यत्रैव तात्पर्यं तद्विशेषोपादानेन समासविधानं तु कर्तृकरणे कृता बहुलम् [२.१.३२] इत्यादिना || In P. II., 2, 8 we find neither the word कारक nor a particular Kâraka such as *Karman* etc.; nevertheless the Paribhâshâ is applicable in the formation, by P. II., 2, 8, of कुम्भकार, *viz.* because the word कारक in the Paribhâshâ means कारकविभक्त्यन्त.

2. Chitprabhâ: अस्या इति | अस्या हि परिभाषाया विप्रतिषेधशास्त्रवत्कार्यव्यवस्थापकत्वमेव न विध्येकवाक्यता तथैव तस्या निराकाङ्क्षत्वात् | तथा सति नोपादान एवेत्यर्थलाभः | एतेन प्रातिपदिकग्रहणे [प° ७१] इत्यतो ग्रहणपदानुवृत्तिः कल्प्याकाङ्क्षया तदेकवाक्यता वेत्यपास्तम् | एवमप्येवेत्यर्थस्यालाभादिति भावः ||

PARIBHÂSHÂ LXXVI.

One might say that the word अभ्वादेः 'not being a root' in P. VII., 1, 70 which teaches that in strong cases 'नुम्' is the augment of that which, *not being a root*, is उगित् *i. e.* has as indicatory letter one of the vowels contained in the Pratyâhâra उक्, and of [*the root*] भञ्ज्' is superfluous, because (already) in consequence of the restriction 'that, so far as regards roots (that are उगित्), the operation (which by P. VII., 1, 70 would take place, actually takes place) only in the case of भञ्ज्' नुम्

can be added to (what is उगित्) *only* when this is *not* a root. (The author of the Paribhâshâs) says therefore:

P. LXXVI: When (a word can) not (denote) something which actually is (what is expressed by the word,) it must be understood (to denote) something which formerly was (what is expressed by it).[1]

This (Paribhâshâ) is established by the maxim that the several words (of a rule cannot be regarded as meaningless, but must be made to) serve a purpose.[2] Because then the (word अभानी: *has* been employed in P. VII., 1, 70), the meaning (of that rule must be this that नुम् is the augment) also of (an उगित् which actually is a root but) which formerly was not a root, and therefore नुम् is (by it) added *e. g.* in the Nom. Sing. of गोमत् (derived) by means of (the affix) क्विप् from (the root) गोमत्यति (which again is derived from the noun गोमत्.

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1. अभानी: in P. VII., 1, 70 cannot denote an उगित् 'which *is* not a root', because it would be superfluous if it did convey that meaning; it must consequently denote an उगित् 'which *formerly was* not a root'; and so it does denote *e. g.* गोमत् which is derived from the root गोमत्य (गोमन्तमिच्छति) and which therefore, like the latter, *is* a root, but which *formerly*, before क्यच् by P. III., 1, 8 was added to the noun गोमत्, was not a root.—See Si. Kau. I., pag. 183; II., pag. 224.—Schol. on P. III., 1, 97.

2. तत्तद्वचनसामर्थ्यन्याय°; P. सामर्थ्यरूपो यो न्यायस्तत्सिद्धेयमित्यर्थः.—The Chitprabhâ gives the following explanation: लोके यथा देवदत्तस्यिगृहोपरितनकाकोडुयने काकवदिति व्यवहारो यथा वा केनचिद्देवदत्तेन स्वीयगृहे विक्रीतेऽन्येन क्रीतेऽपि देवदत्तगृहमिति व्यवहारस्तथा शास्त्रेऽपि तत्त्वाभावे भूतपूर्वगत्या तद्व्यवहार इति लोकन्यायसिद्धेयम्। तत्तद्वचनसामर्थ्यात्तु तत्रैतन्न प्रवर्तत इति नातिप्रसङ्ग इति भावः॥

The Paribhâshâ) is found in the Bhâshya on P. VI., 4, 3 and other rules.[1].

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1. On P. VII., 1, 70; VII., 3, 83 etc.—See Bhâshya on P. VI., 4, 3: किमर्थमाम: सनकारस्य ग्रहणं क्रियते नामि दीर्घे इत्येवोच्येत । केनेदानीं सनकारस्य भविष्यति । नुडयमाम्भक्त आम्ग्रहणेन ग्राहिष्यते । अत उत्तरं पठति । नामि दीर्घे आमि चेत्स्यात्कृते दीर्घे न नुड् भवेत् । नामि दीर्घे आमि चेत्स्यात्कृते दीर्घे न नुट् स्यात् । अग्नीनाम् । इन्दूनाम् । इदमिह संप्रधार्यं दीर्घत्वं क्रियतां नुडिति किमत्र कर्तव्यम् । परत्वान्नुट् नित्यं दीर्घत्वं कृतेऽपि नुटि प्राप्नोत्यकृतेऽपि । नित्यत्वाद्दीर्घे कृते ह्रस्वाश्रयो नुट् न प्राप्नोति । एवं तर्ह्यादायं ह्रस्वान्तान्नुडिति न च ह्रस्वान्तोऽस्ति । तत्र वचनाद्भविष्यति । वचनाच्चत्र तन्नास्ति । नैदं वचनाल्लभ्यम् । अस्ति ह्यन्यदेतस्य वचने प्रयोजनम् । किम् । यत्र दीर्घत्वं प्रतिषिध्यते । तिसृणां चतसृणामिति । नैतदस्ति प्रयोजनम् । इह तावच्चतसृणामिति षट्चतुर्भ्यश्च [७.१.५५] इत्येवमत्र भविष्यति । तिसृणामिति लिग्रहणमपि प्रकृतमनुवर्तते । कः प्रकृतम् । लेस्लयः [७.१.५३] इति । इदं तर्हि । त्वं नृणां नृपते जायसे शुचिः । नैकमुदाहरणं ह्रस्वग्रहणं प्रयोजयति । तत्र वचनाद्भूतपूर्वगतिर्विज्ञास्यते । ह्रस्वान्तो यो भूतपूर्व इति । उत्तरार्थं तर्हि सनकारग्रहणं कर्तव्यम् । नोपधायाश्च चर्मणाम् । नोपधाया नामि यथा स्यात् । इह मा भूत् । चर्मणां चर्मणाम् ॥

Extract from Kaiyaṭa: तत्र वचनादिति । भूतपूर्वगत्येवेति भावः ॥ वचनादिति । वचनात्स्यादिति चेत्र दीर्घत्वं नास्ति तत्र वचनस्य चरितार्थत्वात्सांप्रतिकसद्भावे भूतपूर्वगत्याश्रयणस्यायुक्तत्वादग्नीनामित्यादौ कृते दीर्घे नुट् न स्यादित्यर्थः ॥ तिसृणामित्यादौ नुटोऽन्यथासिद्धत्वाद्ध्रस्वलक्षणो नुडनवकाश एवेति दर्शयन्नाह नैतदस्तीति ॥ नैक० अन्यथा नृनश्चाग्नो नुडिति ब्रूयात् । तदेवं वचनसामर्थ्याद्भूतपूर्वगत्या नुटः सिद्धत्वान्नार्थः सनकारकनिर्देशेनेति स्थिते प्रयोजनान्तरोपन्यासः । उत्तरार्थमिति ॥

PARIBHÂSHÂ LXXVII.

P. LXXVII: (An operation etc. which affects) a Bahuvrîhi or what is denoted by a Bahuvrîhi, is sometimes allowed (to affect also) the mem-

bers (of that Bahuvrîhi) or what is denoted by them.[1]

(The अपि which has been translated by) 'sometimes' shows that (at other times) it is not allowed (to affect) its members or what is denoted by them. The (word तद्गुणसंविज्ञानम्) means 'the connection of what is denoted by the members (of the Bahuvrîhi) with what is predicated of that which is denoted by the whole Bahuvrîhi.'[2] Where that which is denoted by the

1. A Bahuvrîhi-compound should by P. II., 2, 24 denote something else than what is denoted by its members. Applying this to the Bahuvrîhi सर्वादीनि in P. I., 1, 27, we might doubt whether that word ought to denote also सर्व, because this very सर्व is the first member of the compound सर्वादीनि, and whether therefore सर्व ought to be termed *Sarvanâman* by P. I., 1, 27. To remove doubts of this nature is the object of the present Paribhâshâ which is established by the practice of ordinary life; as in ordinary life when Long-ear approaches, his long ears approach too, so सर्वादीनि सर्वनामानि teaches that the whole group of words denoted by सर्वादीनि are termed *Sarvanâmâni* and that सर्व itself which is denoted by the first member of सर्वादीनि is likewise termed *Sarvanâman*. See Bhâshya on P. I., 1, 27: सर्वादीनीति कोऽयं समासः। बहुव्रीहिरित्याह। कोऽस्य विग्रहः। सर्वशब्द आदिर्येषां तानीमानीति। यद्येवं सर्वशब्दस्य सर्वनामसंज्ञा न प्राप्नोति। किं कारणम्। अन्यपदार्थत्वाद्बहुव्रीहेः। बहुव्रीहिरयमन्यपदार्थे वर्तते। तेन यदन्यत्सर्वशब्दात्तस्य सर्वनामसंज्ञा प्राप्नोति तद्यथा चित्रगुरानीयतामित्युक्ते यस्य ता गावो भवन्ति स एवानीयते न गावः। नैष दोषः। भवति हि बहुव्रीहौ तद्गुणसंविज्ञानमपि तद्यथा चित्रक्षसमानय लोहितोष्णीषा ऋत्विजः प्रचरन्तीति तद्गुण आनीयते तद्गुणाश्च प्रचरन्ति ॥

2. Râghavendra reads विशेष्यान्वयित्वम्, Pâyagunda विशेष्यान्वयिनान्वयित्वम्; both readings convey the same sense but the latter appears to be the easier one of the two. When we say लम्बकर्णमानय 'bring Long-ear', the long ears are brought as well as Long-ear; consequently we have here विशेष्यान्वयिनान्वयित्व; 'Long-ear' is the *vis'eshya*, the 'bringing' *vis'eshyânvayin*, and 'the long ears,' because they are brought when Long-ear is brought,

whole Bahuvrîhi is intimately related[1] (to that which is denoted by its members), there (the operation etc. which affects what is denoted by the Bahuvrîhi) will generally[2] (affect also) that which is denoted by its members; elsewhere[3] it is generally[4] otherwise. लम्बकर्ण 'long-ear' and चित्रगु 'one who is possessed of variegated cows' are examples (from ordinary life); and सर्वादि in P. I., 1, 27 and इत्यादि[5] in P. VI., 1, 6 examples (from Pâ-

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are *vis'eshyânvayinâ* (*i. e.* आनयनेन) *anvayin*. What in Pâyagunda's reading is denoted by विशेष्यान्वयिन्, *i. e.* in the present instance 'the bringing,' is in Râghavendra's reading denoted by विशेष्य; (see Pâyagunda विशेष्यान्वयित्वमिति पाठे तु मुख्यविशेष्यं वाक्यार्थरूपं ग्राह्यम्; and Râjârâma Shâstrin's S'abdavyutpatti-Kaumudî pag. 35: तत्र वैयाकरणमते सर्वत्र क्रियामुख्यविशेष्यक एव वाक्यार्थबोधः। यत्र क्रियापदं न श्रूयते तत्रापि तदध्याहर्तव्यम्। सर्वं हि वाक्यं क्रियायां परिसमाप्यत इत्याभियुक्तोक्तेः ॥)

1. See Tarkasamgraha नित्यसंबन्धः समवायः etc. Such a relation exists *e. g.* between 'Long-ear' and his long ears because they form part of him, but not between the man who possesses variegated cows and his cows; and therefore the long ears are brought when 'Long-ear' is brought, but the variegated cows are not brought when चित्रगु is brought.

2. Not always; *e. g.* when Long-ear feeds, his long ears do not feed.

3. See above note 1.

4. Not always; *e. g.* when रक्तदण्ड 'one who carries a red staff' approaches, his red staff approaches too, although there is no intimate relation between him and his red staff. P. adds therefore: तथा चोभयमपि संभवाभिप्रायकं बोध्यम्.

5. P. VI., 1, 6 teaches that the roots जक्ष् *and* the six इत्यादि *i. e.* जक्षादि are termed *abhyasta*; from this it appears that इत्यादि *i. e.* जक्षादि denotes a group of roots to which जक्ष् does *not* belong.

See Bhâshya on P. VI., 1, 6: अथवा सप्तैवैमे भ्वादयः पठ्यन्ते। जक्ष् अभ्यस्तसंज्ञो भवति। इत्यादयश्च षट्॥ Kaiyaṭa: नायं त्रितया निर्देशः। किं तर्हि। जक्षितिपृथक्पदम्। इत्यादय इत्यनेतिशब्देन जक्षितिः परामृश्यत आदिशब्दश्च समीपवाची। तेन तत्समीपाः षडभ्यस्तसंज्ञा इति सप्तानामेवाभ्यस्तसंज्ञा सूत्रेण संगृहीतेत्यर्थः॥ Nâgojibhaṭṭa:

ṇini's grammar. The Paribhâshâ) is found in the Bhâshya[1] on P. I., 1, 27.

ङितपीति । ङितपि रुदादिभ्य इटि तद्गुणं नेत्यर्थः ॥ समभिवाचीति । एवं चातद्गुणसंविज्ञानबहुव्रीहिणा जक्षेः परे षड् जक्षिश्चेति सप्तानां सिद्धा संज्ञेत्यर्थः ॥

1. See above, and also the Bhâshya on P. VI., 1, 1: सिद्धं तु तद्गुणसंविज्ञानात्पाणिनेर्यथा लोके । सिद्धमेतत् । कथम् । तद्गुणसंविज्ञानाद्भगवतः पाणिनेराचार्यस्य यथा लोके ॥

Kaiyaṭa: तस्यान्यपदार्थस्य गुणो विशेषणं तस्य संविज्ञानं, स वार्तेपदार्थो गुणो वा यस्यान्यस्य पदार्थस्य तस्य संविज्ञानं, संनिहितविशेषणस्यान्यपदार्थस्य विशिष्टसंबन्धाश्रयेण केनचिद्बहुव्रीहिणाभिधानादित्यर्थः ॥ Cf. also the Bhâshya on P. II., 2, 24.

PARIBHÂSHÂ LXXVIII.

One might say that यत् which is attracted (from P. III., 1, 97) by (the particle) च 'and' of P. III., 1, 106, (and the addition of which is therefore taught in P. III., 1, 106 as well as that of क्यप्), ought (just like क्यप् which *is* valid) in P. III., 1, 107, to be valid also in the latter rule. (The author of the Paribhâshâs) says therefore:

P. LXXVIII: That which is attracted (from a preceding rule) by (the particle) च 'and' (of a subsequent rule), is not (valid) in (a rule) that follows (upon the latter).[1]

The fact that णमुल् has again been put down in the rule P. III., 4, 59, while (the same) णमुल् might have been valid (in that rule from P. III., 4, 26), indicates (the existence of) this

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1. The यत् of P. III., 1, 97, being attracted by the च of P. III., 1, 106, can therefore not be valid in P. III., 1, 107.

(Paribhâshâ); on the other hand, (if the Paribhâshâ did not exist, Pâṇini, instead of saying in III., 4, 59 क्त्वाणमुलौ,) might have said क्त्वा च. णमुल्[1] has namely been repeated (in III., 4, 59) in order to show that both (क्त्वा *and* णमुल्) are to be supplied in the subsequent (rules P. III., 4, 60 etc.). Examples are obvious.[2]

This is not universally valid,[3] (and) it is for this reason that (the term) द्वितीया, although it is attracted (from P. II., 3, 2) by the च in P. II., 3, 3, is (nevertheless) supplied in (the subsequent rule) P. II., 3, 4.

The (Paribhâshâ) is incompatible with the statement (of the author of the Bhâshya) on the rule P. I., 3, 93 according to which all the particles च which are meant to show that (some term or other of a preceding rule) is valid (in the

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1. Pâṇini wishes both क्त्वा and णमुल् to be valid in III., 4, 60 etc.; he is therefore obliged to say क्त्वाणमुलौ in III., 4, 59; for if he had said क्त्वा च, the णमुल् of III., 4, 26, being attracted by the च of क्त्वा च in III., 4, 59, would, because of the existence of the present Paribhâshâ, not have been valid in the subsequent rules III., 4, 60 etc.

2. Bhairavamis'ra: रङ्क्षोरमनुष्येऽण् च [४.२.१००] दिक्पूर्वपदाट्ठञ् च [४.३.६] संवत्सराग्रहायणीभ्यां ठञ् च [४.३.५०] पितुर्यच्च [४.३.७९] इत्यादि। आद्ये काशिरयाः शक्क् [४.२.९९] इति शक्को द्युप्रागपाक् [४.२.१०१] इत्यत्र द्वितीयेऽर्धीयत् [४.३.४] इति यतो ग्रामजनपद [४.३.७] इत्यत्र तृतीये ग्रीष्मावरसम [४.३.४९] इति वुञो व्याहरति [४.३.५१] इत्यत्र चतुर्थ ऋतष्ठञ् [४.३.७८] इति ठञो गोत्रादङ्कवत् [४.३.८०] इत्यत्रासंबन्धः ॥

3. P: This follows from the fact that ण has been put down in P. VIII., 4. 12; this ण namely is meant to show that the ण of P. VIII., 4, 10 is not valid in P. VIII., 4, 12; if the Paribhâshâ were universally valid, it would prevent the ण of P. VIII., 4, 10 from being valid in P. VIII., 4, 12, because ण is attracted by the च in P. VIII., 4, 11, and ण in P. VIII., 4, 12 would be superfluous.

rule which contains the च) can be dispensed with;[1] the import of this (statement) is this that only the explanation (of the learned) should guide us as to whether (a particular term) is valid or not valid (in a rule). It likewise is incompatible with the Bhâshya[2] on the rule P. V., 1, 55; for there (the words) लुक्खौ च (of that rule) have been rejected as superfluous by (the author of) the Bhâshya who assumes that ष्ठन् is valid (in P. V., 1, 55) from the rule V., 1, 54 and that खोऽन्यतरस्याम् (of P. V., 1, 53) is likewise valid (in P. V., 1, 55), notwithstanding that (खोऽन्यतरस्याम्) is attracted in P. V., 1, 54 by the च (of that rule).

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1. See Bhâshya on P. 1., 3, 93: लुटि च कृपः। किमर्थश्चकारः। स्यसनोरित्येतदनुकृष्यते। यदि तर्हि नान्तरेण चकारमनुवृत्तिर्भवति द्युद्रुभ्यो लुङि [१.३.९१] इत्यत्रापि चकारः कर्तव्यो विभाषेत्यनुकर्षणार्थः। अथेदानीमन्तरेणापि चकारमनुवृत्तिर्भवतीहापि नार्थश्चकारेण। एवं सर्वे चकाराः प्रत्याख्यायन्ते॥

Kaiyata: स्वरितत्वादनुवृत्त्या चशब्दप्रतिपाद्यस्यार्थस्य सिद्धत्वाद्वाक्यकारः सर्वानेव चशब्दान्प्रत्याचष्टे॥

2. See Bhâshya on P. V., 1, 55: कुलिजाच्चुक्खौ च। कुलिजाच्चेति सिद्धे लुक्खग्रहणानर्थक्यं पूर्वसिंमस्त्रिकभावात्। कुलिजाच्चेत्येव सिद्धं नार्थो लुक्खग्रहणेन। किं कारणम्। पूर्वसिंमस्त्रिकभावात्। पूर्वसिन्योगे सर्व एष त्रिको निर्दिश्यते। द्व्यादकौ। द्व्यादकिकौ। द्व्यादकीना॥

PARIBHÂSHÂS LXXIX. AND LXXX.

One might say that whatever (operation) is stated (to take place) after (a word) the beginning of which is *anudâtta*, or after (a word) the end of which is *udâtta*, can have no concern with (a word) which begins with a consonant or ends with a

consonant (and ought therefore not to take place after such a word. The author of the Paribhâshâs) says therefore :

P. LXXIX: In (respect to) a rule which is given with reference to an accent, a consonant is regarded as not existing.[1]

(स्वरविधौ) means 'in (respect to) a rule which is given with reference to an accent.'[2] The fact that the rule P. VI., 2, 142 (which teaches that the members of a Devatâ-dvandva have not their original accent when the beginning of the second member is *anudâtta*'), contains the restriction, (expressed in the words अपृथिवीरुद्रपूषमन्थिषु, that this rule is not applicable to a Devatâ-dvandva ending in) पृथिवी etc., indicates (the existence of) this (Paribhâshâ). If the Paribhâshâ did not exist, that (restriction) would clearly be superfluous, because (if it were not for this Paribhâshâ) पृथिवी etc. could not be (termed words) 'the begin-

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1. *E. g.* P. IV., 2, 44 teaches that the affix अञ् is added to an *anudâttâdi* Prâtipadika; as this rule is given with reference to an accent, the term *anudâttâdi* in it which shows this reference, is applicable also to Prâtipadikas like कपोत etc. that begin with a consonant provided of course their first vowel be *anudâtta*, because by the present Paribhâshâ their initial consonant is regarded as not existing. Similarly is the term *antodâtta* in P. VI., 1, 169 applicable also to परमवाच् etc. because, so far as the accent-rule P. VI., 1, 169 which is given *with reference* to *antodâtta* compounds is concerned, the final consonant of परमवाच् etc. is regarded as not existing.

2. Not 'in respect to a rule that *teaches* an accent'; the rule P. VI., 1, 169 which was mentioned in the preceding note teaches an accent, but it is also given with reference to an accent, and so far as the latter is the case, the present Paribhâshâ does apply to it, *i. e.* the term *antodâtta* which occurs in it, is as has been shown applicable also to compounds that end in a consonant. See below.

ning of which is *anudâtta*', and because therefore (P. VI., 2, 142) would not be at all applicable (to Devatâ-dvandvas ending with पृथिवी etc. even if it did not contain the restriction अपृथिवीरुद्रपूषमन्थिषु). And this same (restriction) which suggests to us the (existence of such a maxim as is contained in the present) Paribhâshâ, proves[1] that the (Paribhâshâ) concerns (only) rules which (and in so far as they) are given *with reference to* an accent.[2] It is only for this reason that such expressions as अजादि 'commencing with a vowel' in P. VI., 1, 173, and अच: 'ending with a vowel' in P. VI., 1, 195 serve a purpose;[3] and for the same reason (is it quite in accordance with the present Paribhâshâ when) the Bhâshya etc. state that *e. g.* राजवर्ती does not receive the accent which would result from P.

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1. See above pag. 303. note 2.

2. P. VI., 2, 142 teaches something *with reference to anudâttâdi* words, and the restriction which it contains shows that the term *anudâttâdi* is applicable also to words that begin with a consonant provided their first vowel be *anudâtta*. The restriction therefore indicates the existence of this Paribhâshâ; but it shows at the same time that the Paribhâshâ must everywhere be applied in the same manner in which it is applied in P. VI., 2, 142, *i. e.* that it is applicable only to rules which, and in so far as they, are given with reference to an accent.

3. The rules P. VI., 1, 173 and 195 are not given with reference to an accent, but they *teach* an accent. Pâṇini employs in them the terms अजादि and अच् in order to exclude from them (terminations) that begin with a consonant, and (roots) that end in a consonant; his doing so would serve no purpose if the Paribhâshâ were applicable to the terminations and roots the accent of which is taught in P. VI., 1, 173 and 195, because in that case *all* terminations would have to be regarded as commencing with a vowel, and *all* roots as ending with a vowel, and because therefore nothing could possibly be excluded by the terms अजादि and अच् in P. VI., 1, 173 and 195.

VI., 1, 220, because the elision of the न् (of राजन्, so far as the accent-rule P. VI., 1, 220 is concerned) is *asiddha*, and because (राजवती therefore really ends) in अन्वती (and not in अवती),[1] and that in उदश्वित्वत् (the affix) वत् is not *udâtta* by P. VI., 1, 176.[2]

(All) this is found in the Bhâshya[3] on the rule P. VI., 1, 223. Kaiyaṭa on P. I., 2, 29 however states that this (Paribhâshâ) is unnecessary, such (terms as *anudâttâdi* or *antodâtta*) being applicable (also to words that begin or end with a consonant), because a consonant, by the colouring which it receives from the vowel which is pronounced immediately after or before it, appears likewise *udâtta* etc. This is suggested also in the Bhâshya on the same rule.[4]

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1. If the Paribhâshâ were applicable in the case of P. VI., 1, 220 which teaches the accent of words that end in अवती, राजवती would notwithstanding the remark of the author of the Bhâshya fall under that rule, because the न् of अन्वती would in accordance with this Paribhâshâ have to be regarded as not existing.—See Bhâshya on P. VI., 1, 220: अन्तोऽवत्याः । ईक्ष्याः । किमर्थमिदमुभयमुच्यते न वत्या इत्येवोच्येत । वत्या इतीयत्युच्यमाने राजवतीत्यत्रापि प्रसज्येत । अथावत्या इत्युच्यमाने कस्मादेवात्र न भवति । असिद्धो नलोपस्तस्यासिद्धत्वान्नैषोऽवतीशब्दः । कस्तर्हि । अन्वतीशब्दः ॥

2. See below the Bhâshya on P. VI., 1, 223. If the Paribhâshâ were applicable in P. VI., 1, 176, उदश्वित्वत् *would* fall under that rule because the consonant त् which precedes the वत् would in accordance with it have to be regarded as not existing. See Si. Kau. II., pag. 562.

3. See below. Cf. also Bhâshya on P. I., 1, 51 and VIII., 2, 4.

4. See Bhâshya on P. I., 2, 29: उच्चैरुदात्तः । नीचैरनुदात्तः ॥ किं षष्ठीनिर्दिष्टमब्ग्रहणमनुवर्तत उताहो न । किं चातः । यद्यनुवर्तते हल्स्वरप्राप्तौ व्यञ्जनमविद्यमानवदित्येषा परिभाषा न प्रकल्प्यते । कथं हलो नाम स्वरप्राप्तिः स्यात् । एवं तर्हि निवृत्तम् । बहून्येतस्याः परिभाषायाः प्रयोजनानि ॥ अथ प्रथमानिर्दिष्टमब्ग्रहणमनुवर्तत उताहो न । किं चातोऽनुवृत्त्या । वादमर्थः । यद्येते व्यञ्जनस्यापि गुणा लभ्यन्ते । ननु च प्रत्यक्षमुपलभ्यन्ते । इष्टे त्वोर्ज्ञे त्वा । नैते व्यञ्जनस्य गुणाः किं तर्हि । एव तत्सामीप्यात्तु व्यञ्जनमपि तद्गुणमुपलभ्यते त-

Now one might say that even (when the last Paribhâshâ has) thus (been adopted), it does not follow from it that *e. g.* in राजदृषद् the letter अ of the syllable ष (is *udâtta*) by P. VI., 1, 223, for that rule teaches that (of a compound) the *end*[1] is *udâtta*. (The author of the Paribhâshâs) propounds therefore (in addition to the preceding the following)

P. LXXX: When an accent would have to be assigned to a consonant, that consonant is regarded as not existing.[2]

यथा द्वयो रक्तयोर्वस्त्रयोर्मध्ये शुक्लं वस्त्रं तद्गुणमुपलभ्यते बदरादिके रिक्तको लोहकंसस्तद्गुण उपलभ्यते । कुतो नु खल्वेतदत्र एते गुणाः स्युस्तत्साधर्म्यात्तु व्यञ्जनमपि तद्गुणमुपलभ्यते न पुनर्व्यञ्जनस्यैते गुणास्तत्साधर्म्यात्स्वजापि तद्गुण उपलभ्यत इति । अन्तरेणापि व्यञ्जनमत्र एवैते गुणा उपलभ्यन्ते न पुनरन्तरेणाचं व्यञ्जनस्योच्चारणमपि भवति । अन्वर्थं खल्वपि निर्वचनं स्वयं राजन्त इति स्वरा अन्वग्भवति व्यञ्जनम् ॥

Kaiyata: षष्ठीनिर्दिष्टमिति । उच्चैर्नीचैरित्येते अव्यये अधिकरणशक्तिप्रधाने । तत्राच इत्यनुवृत्तौ सत्यामयमर्थो भवति । उच्चैःस्थान उपलभ्यमान उदात्तसंज्ञः स चाचः स्थान इति ॥ हल्स्वरप्राप्तावित्यादि । सत्यामच इत्यस्यानुवृत्तौ समासस्येत्यन्तोदात्तत्वं राजपुरुष इत्यादावेव स्यान्न च राजदृषदित्यादौ । असत्यां त्वनुवृत्तौ समासस्य योऽन्तो दकारस्तस्य स्वरप्राप्तावविद्यमानवत्त्वादकारस्य स्वरः सिध्यति ॥ ..... अथ प्रथमानिर्दिष्टमिति । ननु को विशेषो यावता यत्र स्वरो विधीयते तत्र व्यञ्जनस्याविद्यमानत्वादच एव भविष्यत्यनुदात्तादेरञ्णित्यादावनुवादेऽपि न दोषः । स्वत एव हलोऽनुदात्तत्वं भवत्वनुदात्ताजुपरागवशाद्वा तदनुवादेन कार्यविधाने न कश्चिद्विशेषः । एवं तर्हि न्यायव्युत्पादनार्थं एवायं विचारः ॥ ननु चेति । बाधकाभावाच्च भ्रान्त्यसिद्धिः ॥ नैष इति । अन्यथाप्युपलाभोपपत्तेरिति भावः ॥... अन्वग्भवतीति । अनुगच्छतीत्यर्थः । शिष्टसमाचाराच्चेदं निर्वचनमभिहितं न त्वत्र वर्णोदृश्यं किंचिदस्ति । अथवा गतिरपि व्यञ्जेरर्थः । विविधं गच्छत्यनुपरागवशादिति व्यञ्जनमित्ययमर्थः पर्यायान्तरेण भाष्यकारेणाभिहितः । उपरागश्च पूर्वपरात्संनिधानेऽपि परेणाचा हलो भवति न पूर्वेण ॥

1. The *end* of राजदृषद् is द्, and not the अ of ष.

2. *Scil.* and the accent is assigned either to the vowel which precedes, or to the vowel which follows upon, the consonant; *i. e.* when Pâṇini

In the rule VI., 1, 213 (Pâṇini teaches that of a dissyllabic word which ends with the affix यत्, the beginning shall be *udâtta*; but he at the same time) forbids (the application of this rule when यत् follows) upon नौ (*i. e.* in the case of नाव्य; his prohibition concerning नौ) indicates (the existence of) this (Paribhâshâ); it would have no sense (if the present Paribhâshâ did not exist) because the beginning of नाव्य, *i. e.* the letter न्, is not fit to receive an accent, and the vowel आ which might receive one, is not the beginning (of नाव्य).[1] Nor can one say that (in order to make the prohibition concerning नाव्य serve a purpose[2]) it should be (assumed that without it P. VI., 1, 213 would teach) that the letter न् (of नाव्य) which really is its initial letter, should be changed to the vowel nearest to it[3] uttered with the *udâtta* accent; for if this were (adopted, नाव्य) would (in accordance with the maxim that 'no operation is allowed) to destroy that on which it is dependent'[4] (even without the prohibition concerning नौ) not be *ádyudâtta* (by P. VI., 1, 213), *viz.* because (by the substitution of ल for न् it) would cease to be

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e. g. teaches that the end is *udâtta*, the *udâtta* is assigned to the vowel which precedes the last consonant or consonants, but when he teaches that the beginning is *udâtta*, the *udâtta* is assigned to the vowel which follows upon the initial consonant or consonants.

1. If the Paribhâshâ did not exist, P. VI., 1, 213 would (even without अनचः) not be applicable to नाव्य, because the *beginning* of this word, *i. e.* the consonant न्, cannot take an accent. As soon as the Paribhâshâ is adopted, अनचः in VI., 1, 213 becomes necessary, because without it the *udâtta* would by VI., 1, 213 have to be assigned to the आ of नाव्य.

2. *I. e.* a purpose other than that of merely indicating the existence of the present Paribhâshâ.

3. *I. e.* ल.

4. See Par. LXXXV.

dissyllabic, while the very circumstance of its being dissyllabic would have caused (the application to it of P. VI., 1, 213); more hereof elsewhere.[1] This (Paribhâshâ), like (the last), is found in the Bhâshya on the rule P. VI., 1, 223.

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1. अन्यत्र *i. e.* भाष्यादौ. P.

Bhâshya[1] on P. VI., 1, 223:

समासान्तोदात्तत्वे व्यञ्जनान्तेषूपसंख्यानम्। समासान्तोदात्तत्वे व्यञ्जनान्तेषूपसंख्यानं कर्तव्यम्। राजदृषत् ब्राह्मणसमित्। हल्स्वरप्राप्तौ व्यञ्जनमविद्यमानवत्। हल्स्वरप्राप्तौ व्यञ्जनमविद्यमानवद्भवतीत्येषा परिभाषा कर्तव्या। किमर्थमिदमुभयमुच्यते न हल्स्वरप्राप्तावित्येवोच्येत स्वरप्राप्तौ व्यञ्जनमविद्यमानवद्भवतीति वा। द्विर्बर्ह्यं सुबर्ह्यं भवति। यदि हल्स्वरप्राप्तौ व्यञ्जनमविद्यमानवद्भवतीत्युच्यते। दधि। उदात्तादनुदात्तस्य स्वरित इति स्वरितत्वं न प्राप्नोति। उदात्ताच्च स्वरितविधौ व्यञ्जनमविद्यमानवद्भवतीत्येषा परिभाषा कर्तव्या॥ कान्येतस्याः परिभाषायाः प्रयोजनानि। प्रयोजनं लिदादुदात्तान्तोदात्तविधयः। लिति प्रत्ययात्पूर्वमुदात्तं भवतीतीहैव स्यात्। भौरिकिविधं भौलिकिविधम्। चिकीर्षकः जिहीर्षक इत्यत्र न स्यात्॥ ज्ञित्यादिरुदात्तो भवतीतीहैव स्यात्।

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1. Kaiyaṭa: व्यञ्जनान्तेष्विति। उच्चैरुदात्त इत्यतश्च इत्यनुवर्तनादजन्तस्य समासस्यान्तोदात्तत्वविधानाद्धलन्तस्य न प्राप्नोतीति वचनम्॥ हल्स्वरप्राप्ताविति। हल एव प्रकृतत्वादविद्यमानवत्त्वं विज्ञास्यते॥ स्वरप्राप्ताविति। प्रकृतत्वाद्व्यञ्जनस्यैव प्राप्तिः प्रत्येष्यते॥ द्विर्बर्ह्यमिति। उभयोपादाने स्पष्टावगतिर्भवतीत्यर्थः॥ स्वरितत्वं न प्राप्नोतीति। हल्स्वरप्राप्त्यभावाद्धकारस्य व्यवधायकत्वात्॥ भौरिकिविधमिति। भौरिकीणां विषयो देशः। भौरि० [४.२.५४] इति विधत्प्रत्ययः॥ चिकीर्षक इति। रेफषकाराभ्यामीकारस्य व्यवधानात्॥

अहिचुम्बकायनिः आग्निवेश्यः । गार्ग्यः कृतिरित्यत्र न स्यात् ॥ धातोरन्त उदात्तो भवतीतीहैव स्यात् । ऊर्णोति । पचतीत्यत्र न स्यात् ॥ इदं तावदयुक्तं यदुच्यते हल्स्वरप्राप्तौ व्यञ्जनमविद्यमानवद्भवतीति । कथं हि हलो नाम स्वरप्राप्तिः स्यात् । तच्चापि ब्रुवतोदात्ताच्च स्वरितविधाविति वक्तव्यम् । तथानुदात्तादेरन्तोदात्ताच्च यदुच्यते तद्व्यञ्जनादेर्व्यञ्जनान्ताच्च न प्राप्नोति । यदि पुनः स्वरविधौ व्यञ्जनमविद्यमानवद्भवतीत्युच्येत । अथ स्वरविधौ व्यञ्जनमविद्यमानवद्भवतीत्युच्यमानेऽनुदात्तादेरन्तोदात्ताच्च यदुच्यते तत्किं सिद्धं भवति व्यञ्जनादेर्व्यञ्जनान्ताच्च । वाढं सिद्धम् । कथम् । स्वरविधिरिति **सर्वविभक्त्यन्तः** समासः । स्वरेण विधिः स्वरविधिः स्वरस्य विधिः स्वरतो विधिः स्वरविधिरिति । नैवं शक्यम् । इह हि दोषः स्यात् । उदश्वित्वान्घोषः विद्युत्वान्वलाहक इति । इस्वनुड्भ्यां मतुवित्येष स्वरः प्रसज्येत ॥ अस्तु तर्हि हल्स्वरप्राप्तौ व्यञ्जनमविद्यमानवद्भवतीति । ननु चोक्तं कथं हि हलो नाम स्वरप्राप्तिः स्यादिति । उच्चैरुदात्तो नीचैरनुदात्त इत्यत्र षष्ठीनिर्दिष्टमज्ग्रहणं निवृत्तं तस्मिन्निवृत्ते हलोऽपि स्वरप्राप्तिर्भवति ॥ यदप्युच्यत उदात्ताच्च स्वरितविधाविति वक्तव्यमिति न वक्तव्यम् । नेदं पारिभाषिकानुदात्तस्य ग्रहणम् । किं तर्हि । अन्वर्थग्रहणम् । **अविद्यमानोदात्त**मनुदात्तं भवति । उदात्तादनुदात्तस्य स्वरित इति ॥ यदप्युच्यतेऽनुदात्तादेरन्तोदात्ताच्च यदुच्यते तद्व्यञ्जनादेर्व्यञ्जनान्ताच्च न प्राप्नोतीत्याचार्यप्रवृत्तिर्ज्ञापयति तत्र सिद्धं तद्भवति व्यञ्जनादेर्व्यञ्जनान्ताच्चेति यदयं नोत्तरपदेऽनुदात्तादावित्युत्तरापृथिवीरुद्रपूषमन्थिष्विति प्रतिषेधं शास्ति । सा तर्ह्येषा परिभाषा क-

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अहिचुम्बकायनिरिति । प्राचामवृद्धात्फिन्बहुलम् [४.१.१६०] इति फिन् ॥ आग्निवेश्य इति । गर्गादित्वाद्यञ् ॥ गार्ग्य इति । हलादित्वादच आदित्वाभावात् ॥ कथं हीति । अङ्धर्मत्वादुदात्तादीनाम् ॥ सर्वविभक्त्यन्त इति । सर्वविभक्त्यन्तावयवत्वात्सर्वविभक्त्यन्तः । सर्वग्रहणमनेकोपलक्षणार्थं सप्तानां विभक्तीनामिहानुपयोगात् ॥ अविद्यमानोदात्तमिति । अङ्ग्रहणसमुदायोऽनुदात्त उदात्तान्तर इति दर्शनाद्धि स्वरितः सिद्धः ॥

र्तव्या । न कर्तव्या । आचार्यप्रवृत्तिर्ज्ञापयति भवत्येषा परिभाषेति यदयं यतोऽनावः[६.१.२१३] इति नावः प्रतिषेधं शास्ति ॥

PARIBHÂSHÂS LXXXI. AND LXXXII.

(According to P. II., 2, 11 a noun in the Genitive case is not compounded with a base ending in तव्य; by P. VII., 1, 84 औ is substituted for the final of दिव् before the termination सु of the Nom. Sing.; P. VI., 1, 213 teaches that dissyllabic bases in यत् are *ádyudátta*; and P. VII., 4,18, that अ is substituted for the इ of शि before the Vikaraṇa अङ्, the latter being valid from P. VII., 4, 16). Now one might say that (if तव्य were to denote also तव्यत्, दिव् also दिवु, यत् also ण्यत्, and अङ् also चङ्) P. II., 2, 11 would forbid also (the composition of a noun in the Genitive case with a base) in तव्यत्[1]; P. VII., 1, 84 would teach the substitution of औ also when क्विप् is added to दिवु;[2] that similarly the accent taught in P. VI., 1, 213 would have to be (assigned) also (to dissyllabic bases) in ण्यत्, (and) that (the operation which takes place before the अङ् that occurs) in P. VII., 4, 16 (and is valid in P. VII., 4, 18), would have to take place also before (the Vikaraṇa) चङ्.[3] (The author of the Paribhâshâs) says therefore :

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1. *I. e.* it would forbid *e. g.* the formation of the compound स्वकर्तव्य; See Si. Kau. I., pag. 345.

2. *E. g.* in अक्षद्यू from अक्ष-दिवु+क्विप्. See the Bhâshya on P. VII., 1, 84 below.

3. *I. e.* we should have to substitute अ for the इ of शि also in the Redupl. Aor. (which really is अशिश्रियत्), just as it is substituted in the second form of the Aor. अश्रयत्.—See Râghavendra : नन्वदृशिग्रहणं चङ् दुर्लभमिति चेत् । न । अदृश इत्यतो ऽङ्ग्रहणमनुवर्तमाने श्रयतेरः [७.४.१८] इति चङ्ग्रहणं स्यादित्यर्थः ॥

P. LXXXI: When a term void of Anubandhas is employed (in grammar, it does) not (denote) that which has an Anubandha attached to it.[1]

P. LXXXII: When a term with one or more Anubandhas is employed (in grammar, it does) not (denote) that which in addition to those (one or more Anubandhas) has another Anubandha attached to it.[2]

The fact that ङ्य and ङ्यत् in the rule P. IV., 2, 9 have (received) the Anubandha ङ्, indicates (the existence of) these two (Paribhâshâs); for (ङ्य and ङ्यत् have been distinguished by the Anubandha ङ्) in order that these (affixes, the addition of which to वामदेव is taught in P. IV., 2, 9,) may not be denoted (by य and यत्) in P. VI., 2, 156. The latter (rule) conveys the meaning that 'of the second member of a compound which ends in य or यत् and follows upon the negative अ (which forms the first member of the compound), the last syllable is *udâtta*;' (as it) according to the above (has no concern with अवामदेव्य, the second member of which according to P. IV., 2, 9 ends in ङ्य or ङ्यत्), अवामदेव्य (cannot be *antodâtta* by P. VI., 2, 156, but) can only receive the accent which is taught in P. VI., 2, 2 (*i. e.* the *udâtta* on the indeclinable negative अ.)[3]

1. तव्य in P. II., 2, 11 and ञ्नित् in P. VII., 1, 84 do therefore not denote तव्यत् and ञ्नित्.—See Par. CVI.

2. यत् in P. VI., 1, 213 and अङ् in P. VII., 4, 16 do therefore not denote व्यत् and चङ्.

3. If the Paribhâshâs did not exist, the Anubandha ङ् of ङ्य and ङ्यत् would be superfluous; for in that case य and यत् in P. VI., 2, 156 would denote also ङ्य and ङ्यत् of P. IV., 2, 9, and अवामदेव्य would notwith-

The meaning of the second (Paribhâshâ) is this that, when a term is employed which has one or more Anubandhas, it does not denote that which has the same and in addition to them some other Anubandha.—Both (Paribhâshâs) are applicable both to affixes and to (terms which are) not affixes, for they have been made use of (in the case of दिव् etc.) in P. VII., 1, 84 etc.[1]

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standing the addition of the Anubandha ङ् in उञ् and उञन् fall under the rule P. VI., 2, 156.

See Bhâshya on P. IV., 2, 9 : वामदेवाड्ड्यड्ड्यौ । किमर्थो उकारः । ङितीति लोपो यथा स्यात् [६.४.१४३] । नैतदस्ति प्रयोजनं यस्येति लोपेनाप्येतत्सिद्धम् [६.४.१४८] । एवं तर्हि सिद्धे यत्ययतौ ङितौ करोति तज्ज्ञापयत्याचार्यो भवत एते परिभाषे अननुबन्धकग्रहणे न सानुबन्धकस्य तदनुबन्धकग्रहणे नातदनुबन्धकस्य ग्रहणमिति । किमेतस्य ज्ञापने प्रयोजनम् । अवामदेव्यमित्येतत्सिद्धं भवति ॥

सिद्धे यस्येति लोपेन किमर्थं यययौ ङितौ ।
ग्रहणं मातदर्थे भूद्वामदेव्यस्य नञ्स्वरे ॥

Kaiyaṭa: अवामदेव्यमिति । अव्ययपूर्वपदप्रकृतिस्वरेणाद्युदात्तत्वमित्यर्थः । अन्यथा यययतोश्चातदर्थे इत्यनेनान्तोदात्तत्वे स्यात् ॥ ग्रहणमिति । अतदर्थग्रहणेन सूत्रं लक्ष्यते ॥ नञ्स्वर इति । नञाश्रये ऽन्तोदात्तत्वे विधेयमान इत्यर्थः ॥

The addition of ङ् to य indicates the first, that of ङ् to यत् the second Paribhâshâ.

1. See Bhâshya on P. VII., 1, 84 : दिव औत् । दिव औत्वे धातोः प्रतिषेधः । दिव औत्वे धातोः प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः । अक्षद्यूरिति । अधात्वधिकारात्सिद्धम् । अधातोरिति वर्तते । क्र प्रकृतम् । उगिदचां सर्वनामस्थानेऽधातोः [७.१.७०] इति । अधात्वधिकारात्सिद्धमिति चेन्नपुंसके दोषः । अधात्वधिकारात्सिद्धमिति चेन्नपुंसके दोषो भवति । काष्ठतक्षिं कूटताक्षिं । नपुंसकस्य झलचः [७.१.७२] अधातोरिति प्रतिषेधः प्राप्नोति । उक्तं च । किमुक्तम् । अननुबन्धकग्रहणे हि न सानुबन्धकस्येति । अथवा संबन्धमनुवर्तिष्यते ॥

Kaiyaṭa: दिव औत्व इति । विशेषानुपादानाद्धातोरपि प्राप्नोति ॥ अक्षद्यूरिति । ऊठि कृते एकदेशविकृतस्यानन्यत्वादौत्वप्रसङ्गः ॥ अननुबन्धकग्रहण इति । अव्युत्पन्नं दिवेति प्रातिपदिकमननुबन्धकम् । व्युत्पत्तिपक्षेऽप्ययवानां प्रत्ययादीनां सानुबन्धकत्वं न प्रातिपदिकस्य ॥ संबन्धमिति । उगिदचामित्यनेन । दिव औदित्यत्र त्वधातोरिति वर्तेन उगिदचामिति निवृत्तम् ॥

They are, it appears from the Bhâshya on P. VII., 1, 18, not applicable in the case of a letter[1] that may be employed (in grammar.—(The Jnâpaka) which informs us of the existence of two such maxims (as are contained in the two Paribhâshâs) proves that they apply only, (the first) to a term[2] void of an Anubandha by the possession of which it would become a term possessed of that Anubandha, and (the second) to a term[3] void of an Anubandha by the possession of which it would become a term possessed of two or more Anubandhas. Accordingly the first (Pari-

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To show that the above remark refers both to the first and to the second Paribhâshâ, P. adds: अत एवौहाकः किन्तं सफलमिति प्राञ्चः। एतेनाद्ये तथा सत्येऽपि द्वितीये न मूलमित्यपास्तम्.— हा, जिहीते is ओहाङ्; हा, जहाति is ओहाक्; if the latter were ओहा, then ओहा would not denote ओहाङ् *i. e.* जिहीते; but as it is made ओहाक्, ओहा denotes both जहाति and जिहीते.—See Si. Kau. II., pag. 306.

1. If Pânini in VII., 1, 18 had said औ instead of saying औङ्, औ would have denoted also औट्, because, औ being a letter, the first Paribhâshâ would not have been applicable to it. See Bhâshya on P. VII., 1, 18: अथवा वर्णग्रहणमिदं भवति न चैनद्वर्णग्रहणेषु भवत्यननुबन्धकग्रहणे न सानुबन्धकस्येति ॥

Kaiyata: अथवेति। औङ इति वर्णमात्रं निर्दिश्यते ङकारस्वसंदेहार्थो नानुबन्धार्थ ऋदोरप् [3.3.५७] इति यथा दकारः। अङ्गाक्षिप्तश्च प्रत्यय औकारेण विशेष्यत इत्यौकारान्तस्य शीभावो विधीयमानोऽन्तवद्भावात्केवलस्यापीकारस्य प्रवर्तते। प्रत्ययस्य चानुबन्धभावाभावाभ्यां निरनुबन्धकपरिभाषा व्यवस्थां करोति न वर्णस्य ॥

2. *E. g.* य (in P. VI., 2, 156) void of the Anubandha ङ् by the possession of which it would become ङ्य possessed of the Anubandha ङ्.

3. *E. g.* यन् (in P. VI., 2, 156) void of the Anubandha ङ् by the possession of which it would become the term ङ्यन् possessed of two Anubandhas; or मनुष् (in P. VI., 1, 176) void of the Anubandha ङ् by the possession of which it would become the term ङ्मनुष् possessed of three Anubandhas.

bhâshâ) is not (applicable to शस्)[1] in P. VII., 1, 20, and it can therefore not be objected that (शस् in VII., 1, 20) would have to denote (in accordance with it) the Taddhita-affix शस्, because this has no Anubandha. So[2] is the second (Paribhâshâ) applicable only to terms which actually have one but of two (or two out of three possible) Anubandhas attached to them[3], (and it is) therefore not contrary (to this Paribhâshâ) when *e. g.* in P. IV., 1, 7 (वन् which is put down without any Anubandha) denotes (also) ङीनिष् and कनिष्.[4] The meaning,[5] however, (which by some has been assigned to the second Paribhâshâ, *viz.* that) when it is possible for a term to denote something which has one Anubandha, (it should not be taken to denote that which has two Anubandhas), is not approved of by (the author of) the Bhâshya etc., as (has been shown) fully elsewhere.

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1. There are two terms शस्; one denotes the Taddhita-affix शस् (in बहुशः, अल्पशः etc.), the other, in which श् is Anubandha, denotes the termination अस् of the Accus. Plur.

2. एवम् *i. e.* धर्मिग्राहकमानादेव. P.

3. *E. g.* to यत् (in P. VI., 2, 156) which has one of the two Anubandhas (ड् and त्) that may be attached to य; or मतुप् (in P. VI., 1, 176) which has two of the three Anubandhas (ड्, उ, and प्) which may be attached to मत्.

4. See also the Bhâshya on P. VIII., 3, 1: मतुवसो रदिशे वन उपसंख्यानं कर्तव्यम् । यस्त्वायन्तं वसुना प्रावरित्वः [ऋग्वे० १.१२५.२] ॥

Kaiyaṭa: वन इति । ङीनिष्ग्रहणमनुबन्धस्यानिर्देशात्तदनुबन्धकपरिभाषानुपस्थानात्कनिषोऽपि ग्रहणम् ॥ प्रावरित्व इति । प्रावरेतीत्यन्येभ्योऽपि दृश्यत इति क्वनिप् ॥.—Si. Kau. II., pag. 534.

5. Chitprabhâ: तदनुबन्धकग्रहण इत्यस्यैकानुबन्धकस्य ग्रहणे संभवति न द्व्यनुबन्धकस्य ग्रहणमित्येवार्थे इति कैश्चिद्व्याख्यानः । तत्खण्डयितुमाह । एकेति ॥ अन्यत्रेति । बृहच्छब्देन्दुशेखरादावित्यर्थः ॥

PARIBHÂSHÂ LXXXIII.

One might say that, as *e. g.* in कुटीर 'a small hut' (the affix र, which by P. V., 3, 88 has been added to the feminine कुटी, does not convey any particular meaning of its own, but leaves to कुटीर) the same meaning that would be denoted by the (original base कुटी,[1] कुटीर) ought not to be *masculine*, because (derivative bases formed by means of) affixes that do not convey any particular meaning of their own, should in accordance with the practice of ordinary life[2] receive their gender and number from the original bases (from which they are derived); and that (for the same reason) अप्कल्प 'almost water' (which in accordance with P. V., 3, 67 is derived from the feminine Plural अप्, आपः by means of the affix कल्पप्) ought not to be *neuter* and *singular*. (The author of the Paribhâshâs) says therefore:

P. LXXXIII: Sometimes (it happens that bases which are derived by means of affixes) that (do not convey any particular meaning of their own, but) leave the meaning which is conveyed by the original base (to which they are added, un-

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1 The affixes taught in P. V., 3, 1 etc. convey no meaning of their own, but merely indicate that the base to which they are added must be understood in some particular sense or other; the new bases therefore which are formed by them convey the same meaning as the original bases to which they are added, and they might accordingly be expected to receive their gender and number from the latter. (See Si. Kau. I., pag. 690, note 2: स्वार्थिका इति । प्रायेणेति शेषः । स्वकीयप्रकृतेरर्थं भजा इत्यर्थः । तसिलादयर्थ-निर्देशाभावादतिशायन इत्यादीनां प्रकृत्यर्थविशेषणत्वादिति भावः ॥ See P. V., 3, 7 and 55). See also Par. CXIII.

2. न्यायेति । यो यत्र स तद्धर्मभागिति लौकिकन्यायेन्यर्थः । P.

changed), do not take their gender and number from those original bases (from which they are derived)[1].

The fact that (Pâṇini) has stated in the rule V., 4, 14 (that भच् shall be added to bases in णच्) स्त्रियाम् *i. e.* 'in the feminine,' indicates (the existence of) this (Paribhâshâ; if) on the other hand (the Paribhâshâ did not exist), that (स्त्रियाम् in P. V., 4, 14) would serve no purpose, because (णच्) by P. III., 3, 43 can be added only in the feminine, (and because new bases, derived from such bases in णच् by means of भच्, could accordingly likewise be nothing but feminine). This (Paribhâshâ) is found in the Bhâshya[2] on (the rule P. V., 3, 68) which teaches (the addition of) बहुच्.

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1. *Scil.* but take a different gender and number.—P. takes प्रकृतिनः as a Genitive case (भाव्यादित्वात्; see Vârttika on P. V., 4, 44; Si. Kau. I., pag. 727).

2. See also the Bhâshya on P. V., 4, 14; also on P. V., 3, 67 आचार्यप्रवृत्तिर्ज्ञापयति स्वार्थिका अतिवर्तन्तेऽपि लिङ्गवचनानीति यदयं णचः स्त्रियामच् [५.४.१४] इति स्त्रीग्रहणं करोति ॥ यद्येतज्ज्ञाप्यते बहुगुडो द्राक्षा बहुतैलं प्रसन्ना बहुपयो यवागूरित्यत्रापि प्राप्नोति । नाप्यतिवर्तन्ते ॥; on P. V., 3, 68 स्वार्थिकोऽयं स्वार्थिकाश्च प्रकृतितो लिङ्गवचनान्यनुवर्तन्ते । एवं तर्हि सिद्धे सति यत्तुग्रहणं करोति तज्ज्ञापयत्याचार्यः स्वार्थिका अतिवर्तन्तेऽपि लिङ्गवचनानीति । किमेतस्य ज्ञापने प्रयोजनम् । गुडकल्या द्राक्षा तैलकल्या प्रसन्ना पयस्कल्या यवागूरित्येतत्सिद्धं भवति ॥

PARIBHÂSHÂ LXXXIV.

One might say that (in the Feminine of सुपथिन् which occurs) in सुपथी नगरी, and is quoted in the Bhâshya[1] on the rule P. VII., 1, 1, (the Samâsânta-affix) कप् should have been added by P. V., 4, 152. (The author of the Paribhâshâs) says therefore:

P. LXXXIV: A rule which teaches the addition of a *Samâsânta*-affix[2] is not universally valid.

The fact that the word राजन् is enumerated amongst (the words) अंशु etc. (on P. VI., 2, 193), to the end that (a Tatpurusha compound which begins with प्रति and ends with राजन्)[3] may be antodâtta by P. VI., 2, 193, indicates (the existence of) this (Paribhâshâ. If) on the other hand (the Paribhâshâ did not exist), the (enumeration of राजन् amongst the words अंशु etc.) would serve no purpose, because (a Tatpurusha ending in राजन्) would be antodâtta already because it would end in (the affix) टच्, (which in that case would invariably have to be added by P. V., 4, 91).[4] This (Paribhâshâ) is found in the Bhâshya on the accent-rule P. VI., 2, 197.

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1. See the Extract from the Bhâshya on P. VII., 1, 1 on Par. LXXII., (above pag. 374) and the following remarks of Nâgojibhaṭṭa on Kaiyaṭa's comment: नन्वृक्पूर् [५.४.७४] इति समासान्ते सति टापि सुपथेति भाष्यमत आह। न पूजनादिति ॥ वस्तुतः षचः (See P. V., 4, 113) प्राचीनेष्वेव स (*i.e.* P. V., 4, 69) इति सिद्धान्तादिनः स्त्रियाम् [५. ४. १५२] इति कपो दुर्वारत्वादिदं चिन्त्यम्। समासान्तविधेरनित्यत्वात्तदभाव इत्युचितम् ॥

2. See P. V., 4, 68 etc.—Si. Kau. I., pag. 645.

3. *I. e.* प्रतिराजन्, Si. Kau. II., pag. 609.

4. *I. e.* we should be obliged to form प्रतिराजन्+टच् = प्रतिराज and this would be antodâtta by P. VI., 1, 163. The enumeration of राजन् among the words अंशु etc. shows that टच् is sometimes not added to प्रतिराजन् and indicates thus the existence of the present Paribhâshâ.

Bhâshya[1] on P. VI., 2, 197:

द्वित्रिभ्यां पाद° । किमिदं मूर्धन्यकारान्तग्रहणमाहोस्विन्नकारान्तग्रहणम् । कश्चात्र विशेषः । द्वित्रिभ्यां मूर्धन्यकारान्तग्रहणं चेन्नकारान्तस्योपसंख्यानम् । द्वित्रिभ्यां मूर्धन्यकारान्तग्रहणं चेन्नकारान्तस्योपसंख्यानं कर्तव्यम् । द्विमूर्धा त्रिमूर्धा । अस्तु तर्हि नकारान्तग्रहणम् । नकारान्तेऽकारान्तस्य । नकारान्ते सत्यकारान्तस्योपसंख्यानं कर्तव्यम् । द्विमूर्धः त्रिमूर्धः । उदात्तलोपात्सिद्धम् । अस्तु तर्हि नकारान्तग्रहणम् । अन्तोदात्तत्वे कृते लोपः । उदात्तनिवृत्तिस्वरेण सिद्धम् ॥ इदमिह संप्रधार्यम् । अन्तोदात्तत्वं क्रियतां लोप इति किमत्र कर्तव्यम् । परत्वाल्लोपः । एवं तर्हीदमिह संप्रधार्यम् । अन्तोदात्तत्वं क्रियतां समासान्त इति किमत्र कर्तव्यम् । परत्वादन्तोदात्तत्वम् । नित्यः समासान्तः कृतेऽप्यन्तोदात्तत्वे प्राप्नोत्यकृतेऽपि प्राप्नोति । अन्तोदात्तत्वमपि नित्यं कृतेऽपि समासान्ते प्राप्नोत्यकृतेऽपि प्राप्नोति । अनित्यमन्तोदात्तत्वम् । न हि कृते समासान्ते प्राप्नोति परत्वाल्लोपेन भवितव्यम् । भवत्येव लोपः । यस्य च लक्षणान्तरेण निमित्तं विहन्यते न तदनित्यं न च समासान्त एवान्तोदात्तत्वस्य निमित्तं विहन्ति । अवश्यं लक्षणान्तरं लोपः प्रतीक्ष्यः । उभयोर्नित्ययोः परत्वादन्तोदात्तत्वमन्तोदात्तत्वे कृते समासान्तः । टिलोपः ।

1. Kaiyaṭa: किमिदमिति । ननु चाकारान्तनिर्देशो मूर्धेत्यति भाव्यमिति द्वैतानुपपत्तिः । उच्यते । न शब्दाश्रयं द्वैतं किंतु कार्यभेदाश्रयम् । यदा समासस्यान्तोदात्तत्वं विधीयते नित्यश्च समासान्त इति पक्षस्तदाकारान्तग्रहणमेव सामर्थ्याद्भवति । यदा तूत्तरपदस्यान्तोदात्तत्वमिति पक्षस्तदा कृतेऽपि समासान्ते तस्योत्तरपदेऽनन्तर्भावान्नकारान्तस्य स्वरविधिरिति पक्षोऽवतिष्ठते ॥ नकारान्तस्योपसंख्यानमिति । समासश्चेत्कार्यी नित्यश्च समासान्तस्तदा नकारान्तस्य साधुत्वं स्वरश्चोपसंख्येय इत्यर्थः ॥ द्विमूर्धेति । यदोत्तरपदस्य कार्यित्वं तदा कृते समासान्त उत्तरपदस्यान्तोदात्तत्वं विधीयमानं प्रत्ययस्य न प्राप्नोति ॥ उदात्तलोपादिति । उत्तरपदस्यान्तोदात्तत्वे सति शौषनिधानेन प्रत्ययोऽनुदात्तस्तवानुदात्तस्य च यत्नोदात्तलोपः [६.१.१६१] इति प्रत्ययस्योदात्तत्वं सिद्धमित्यर्थः ॥ परत्वाल्लोप इति । ततश्चोदात्तलोपो न भवतीत्यर्थः ॥ एवं तर्हीदमिहेति । यदा कृते समासे समासान्तः क्रियत इति पक्षस्तदेयं

टिलोपे कृत उदात्तनिवृत्तिस्वरेण सिद्धम् । युक्तं पुनरिदं विचारयितुम् । नन्वनेनासंदिग्धेन नकारान्तग्रहणेन भवितव्यं यावता मूर्धस्विन्युच्यते यद्यकारान्तग्रहणं स्यान्मूर्धेष्विति ब्रूयात् । **सैषा समासान्तार्था** विचारणा । एवं तर्हि ज्ञापयत्याचार्यो विभाषा समासान्तो भवतीति ॥

संग्रहारणा । यदा तु समासार्थादुत्तरपदात्समासान्तः क्रियत इति पक्षस्तदा संग्रहारणैवात्र नास्ति ॥ युक्तं पुनरिति । ननु कृतेऽपि समासान्ते नकारान्त एव मूर्धशब्द उत्तरपदं संभवतीति किमनायुक्तम् । एवं मन्यते । यथा पाद्दीति समासान्तनिर्देश एवं मूर्धोऽस्विति समासान्तनिर्देश एव न्याय्यः । एवं ह्यसंदिग्धं समासस्य कार्यित्वं विज्ञायते । न च कृतं तस्मादुत्तरपदस्यैव कार्यित्वेन भाव्यम् ॥ सैषा समासान्तार्थेति । यदि नित्यः समासान्तः स्यात्तदा कार्यिविशेषसंदेहव्यावृत्तये प्रक्रमभेदाय वा समासान्त एवोच्चार्येत । तदनुच्चारणात्तु समासान्तस्यानित्यत्वं ज्ञाप्यते । तत्र यदा समासान्तो नास्ति तदा समासस्योत्तरपदस्य वा कार्यित्वे विशेषाभावो यदा तु समासान्तः क्रियते तदा समासस्य कार्यित्वे सिद्धं समासान्तस्योदात्तत्वं यदाप्युत्तरपदस्य कार्यित्वं तदा परत्वादन्तोदात्तत्वे कृते समासान्तस्तल टिलोप इत्युदात्तनिवृत्तिस्वरेणापि सिद्धम् । ननु प्रत्ययस्वरेण समासान्तस्य भाव्यम् । नैवदस्ति बहुव्रीहिस्वरेण तस्य बाधनाद्बहुव्रीहिस्वरस्याप्यनेन ॥

PARIBHÂSHÂ LXXXV.

One might say that, when *e. g.* in (the formation of) the Nom. Plur. of शत, (from शत+इ, the augment) नुम् has (by P. VII., I, 72) been added (to शत, *i. e.* when शत+इ has been changed to शतन्+इ, शतन्) ought (by P. I., 1, 24) to be termed *Shash*, and that then (the termination इ) would have to be dropped (by P. VII., 1, 22); similarly, (one might say that,) when in (the formation of) the 3. Sing. Aor. Âtm. of उप-दीङ् (from उप-अदी+त) आ has (by P. VI., 1, 50) been substituted (for the ई of दी, *i. e.* when अदी+त has been changed to अदा+त,) इ ought by P. I., 2, 17 to be substituted (for that आ,[1] and that

1. *Viz.* because दा would be termed घु.

then the स् of स्त would have to be elided by P. VIII., 2, 27. The author of the Paribhâshâs) says therefore:

P. LXXXV : (That which is taught in) a rule (the application of) which is occasioned by the combination (of two things), does not become the cause of the destruction of that (combination).

संनिपात 'a combination' is the junction of two (things; that which is taught in) a rule (the application of) which is caused by such (a combination), does not cause (the application of) another (rule) which would destroy that combination.[1] This[2] (Paribhâshâ) is founded on the maxim that one must not be hostile to that to which one owes one's existence; (and because

1. Accordingly the addition of the augment नुम् to शत, which is caused by the combination शत+इ, does not cause the application of P. I., 1, 24 by which शतन् would be termed *shash*, because, if शतन् were termed *shash*, the termination इ would have to be elided by P. VII., 1, 22, and because by that elision the combination शत+इ would be destroyed. (See Mahâbhâshya, Ed. Ballantyne pag. 503; Si. Kau. I., pag. 162, and Bhâshya on P. I., 1, 24).—Similarly, the substitution of आ for the ई of दी, which is caused by the combination दी+स्, does not cause the application of P. I., 2, 17 by which इ would be substituted for आ, because this substitution would necessitate the application of P. VIII., 2, 27 which would destroy the combination दी+स्. If however a Vârttika on P. I., 1, 20 be adopted by which दीङ्, so far as regards the rule P. I., 2, 17, is not to be termed घु, then the present Paribhâshâ is not necessary for the formation of उपादास्त. (Mahâbh. pag. 502.) See also Bhâshya on P. I., 1. 20.

2. Pag. 85, l. 17—87, l. 2 Nâgojibhaṭṭa discusses the meaning of the term संनिपात, and that of the whole Paribhâshâ; pag. 87, l. 3—14 he refutes certain objections by stating that the Paribhâshâ is not universally valid; pag. 87, l. 15—88, l. 12 he guards against too narrow a

it is founded on this maxim),[1] therefore the word संनिपात 'a combination' denotes here not merely the junction of something preceding and something following,[2] but also the combination of something qualified with something that qualifies it.[3] It is because the latter (is really the case),[4] that even[5] when (by P. I., 2, 47) a short vowel has been substituted in the neuter (for the final) *e. g.* (of श्रामणी) in श्रामणि कुलम्, (the augment) तुक्, (the addition of) which is taught in P. VI., 1, 71, is not (added to श्रामणि, *viz.*) because the short (vowel इ), as it owes its origin to the fact that to the term प्रातिपदिक (in P. I., 2, 47) is joined the (qualifying) circumstance 'ending in a vowel,'[6] cannot cause (the application of P. VI., 1, 71) by which (श्रामणि) would cease to be (a Prâtipadika ending in a vowel.) If तुक् were added (to श्रामणि, the

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sense being assigned to the Paribhâshâ and makes so its meaning still clearer; and from pag. 88, l. 13 he enumerates in accordance with the Bhâshya all cases in which the Paribhâshâ ought not to be applied.

1. Others have maintained that the existence of the Paribhâshâ is indicated by a *Jnâpaka*; if such were really the case, संनिपात would not denote a विशेष्यविशेषणसंनिपात because such a संनिपात does not exist in the rule or rules which have been supposed to be *Jnâpaka*.

2. *E. g.* शत+इ above.

3. *E. g.* अदन्तं प्रातिपदिकम् 'a Prâtipadika+ending in अ' in P. IV., 1, 95. See below.

4. अत एव *i. e.* विशेष्यविशेषणभावसंबन्धस्यापि ग्रहणादेव. P.

5. In compounds like श्रामणिकुल, which will be mentioned below, the substitution of a short vowel for the ई of श्रामणी is caused by the second member कुल etc., or, in other words, by 'the junction of something preceding and something following;' but in the neuter श्रामणि it is caused by the *vis'eshyavis'eshanasambandha* 'a Prâtipadika ending in a vowel.'

6. प्रातिपदिकाजन्तत्वसंनिपातेन *i. e.* प्रातिपदिकस्याजन्तत्वरूपविशेषणेन यः संबन्धस्तेन. P.

latter) would evidently cease to end in a vowel.—Nor (can one maintain that) the short (vowel which is substituted for the final of ग्रामणी), is *bahiranga* because (its substitution) depends on the meaning (of ग्रामणी),[1] and on that account *asiddha* (in regard to the addition of the augment तुक्);[2] for it has been stated that (dependence on) meaning is not admitted to make (an operation) *bahiranga*;[3] moreover, in consequence of the (तुक् in the) rule P. VI., 1, 86, and because (Pâṇini) has employed the words कृति तुक् (in VIII., 2, 2)[4] Par. L. has no concern (with an operation which would by it be *asiddha*) in regard to the addition of (the augment) तुक्.[5]

It is just because (the word संनिपात of this Paribhâshâ) denotes any combination whatsoever,[6] that the author of the Vârttikas,[7] when pointing out the faults (which would arise from an unrestricted application) of the present Paribhâshâ, has stated that '(if the Paribhâshâ were universally valid), an affix depending on a letter would not cause the disappearance of that

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1. *I. e.* on the circumstance that ग्रामणी is neuter.

2. *Scil.* and that we therefore do not want the present Paribhâshâ for the sake of ग्रामणि, and that the word संनिपात in it need accordingly not denote a *vis'eshyavis'eshanasambandha*.

3. See above pag. 224.

4. See above pag. 268; 276; 232.

5. See Kaiyaṭa and Nâgojibhaṭṭa in Mahâbhâshya pag. 500.

6. सर्वविध° *i. e.* उभयविध° P.

7. वार्त्तिककृतोक्तमिति । सिद्धान्तिनेति शेषः ॥ Bhairavamis'ra.—See Mahâbhâshya pag. 504: तस्य दोषो वर्णाश्रयः प्रत्ययो वर्णविचालस्य । तस्यैतस्य लक्षणस्य दोषो वर्णाश्रयः प्रत्ययो वर्णविचालस्यानिमित्तं स्यात् । क्व । अत इञ् [४.१.९५] । दाक्षिः प्राक्षिः । न प्रत्ययः संनिपातलक्षणः । अङ्गसंज्ञा तन्निमित्तं स्यात् ॥

letter'.[1] When subsequently, on the ground that (the addition of) the affix (in the case of दाक्षि) is certainly not caused by the combination of something preceding and something following, while such (a combination) only is supposed to be denoted by the word संनिपात, it is suggested that '(the addition of) the affix is not caused by a संनिपात,' and when, this having been actually admitted, (the preceding statement is put differently in this form *viz.*) that '(if the Paribhâshâ were universally valid) the term *Anga* would not become the cause (of the disappearance of a letter that forms part of the *Anga*),'[2]—all this does not speak against the correctness of the preceding (statement of the) Bhâshya (वर्णाश्रयः प्रत्ययः etc.), because it is brought forward by one who is only partly acquainted with the true state of the case. Moreover, if (the words वर्णाश्रयः प्रत्ययः etc.) were really (equivalent to अङ्गसंज्ञा वर्णविचालस्यानिमित्तं स्यात्), the word वर्णाश्रयः 'depending on a letter' would be superfluous, because (in that case) the term *Anga* ought (in the same manner) not to become the cause of the elision (of a letter of the *Anga*) also in (the formation of)

1. In दक्ष+इञ् = दाक्षि, इञ् is by P. IV., 1, 95 added to दक्ष because दक्ष is 'a Prâtipadika ending in अ.' Now it has been stated in the Bhâshya that, if the present Paribhâshâ were universally valid, the affix इ would not cause the application of P. VI., 4, 148, because the Prâtipadika to which इ has been added would by that rule cease to end in अ. This shows that संनिपात has in the Bhâshya been considered to denote also a *vis'eshyavis'eshanasambandha*, for otherwise the Paribhâshâ would not in the manner stated have been applicable in the case of दक्ष+इञ् = दाक्षि.

2. *I. e.* when दक्ष is combined with the affix इञ्, दक्ष is termed *Anga* by P. I., 4, 13; this term *Anga* can by the present Paribhâshâ not cause the elision of the final अ of दक्ष by P. VI., 4, 148, because the combination दक्ष+इञ् would be destroyed thereby.

शैव, गार्ग्य, वैनतेय etc. (the affixes of which are *not* dependent on a letter).[1]

Some maintain that in the case of ग्रामणिकुल, ग्रामणिपुत्र etc. (from ग्रामणी+कुल, ग्रामणी+पुत्र etc.), where the substitution (by P. VI., 3, 61) of a short vowel (for the ई of ग्रामणी) is caused by the second member (कुल etc. of the compound), it is one only partly acquainted with the true state of the case who in the Bhâshya on P. I., 1, 39 and on the rule[2] P. VI., 1, 71 has accounted for the non-addition of तुक् (to ग्रामणि) by means of Par. L., assuming (while doing so) that it somehow[3] is possible to account for the absence of तुक् also by that Paribhâshâ; and that for this very reason (*viz.* because it is one only partly acquainted with the true state of the case who has made use here of Par. L.) it has been stated by the author of the Vârttikas on P. I., 1, 39 that the (non-addition of तुक् in ग्रामणिकुल etc.) results (not from Par. L. but) from the (present) Paribhâshâ.[4]

It is characteristic of the present (Paribhâshâ, that it is applicable) wherever (the application of) a rule may be occasioned by the combination (of two things.—The meaning which) results from it, is this that (a rule or operation the application or taking effect of which is occasioned by the combination of two things) does not become the cause of (the application of) another rule (the taking effect of) which would destroy that combination which, (existing) be-

1. See P. IV., 1, 112; 105; and 120.

2. See Mahâbhâshya pag. 499, and above pag. 275.

3. *Viz.* when Par. LI. is rejected.

4. Really the statement in the Bhâshya on P. I., 1, 39 and VI., 1, 71 need not be *Ekades'yukti*, because the non-addition of तुक् may well be accounted for in two ways.

fore the taking effect of the former (rule), was the cause of its (application).

Now[1] one might say: '(If) then (this Paribhâshâ did really exist, the final of) *e. g.* (राम) ought not to have been lengthened by P. VII., 3, 102 in the Dat. Sing. रामाय (from राम+ङे = राम+य); for (here) the substitute य (for ङे) ought, as it owes its substitution to the combination of the base (राम) ending in short अ with (the termination) ङे, not (to have caused the application of the rule P. VII., 3, 102, because the latter by destroying the final अ of राम) destroys that (combination). Nor[2] can one object "that the (substitution of) long (आ for the final of राम), because it depends on the circumstance that (the termination) should commence with (one of the letters contained in the Pratyâhâra) यञ्, is *bahiranga*, and therefore

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1. The sentence commencing with नन्वेवं ends with इति चेत् in l. 13. The objection that, if the Paribhâshâ did really exist, it ought to have prevented the lengthening of the final of राम in the Dat. Sing., is refuted by the statement that the Paribhâshâ is not universally valid.

2. Cf. Bhairavamis'ra: संनिपातलक्षणविधित्वस्य लिङ्गत्वे तादृशविधिनिमित्तमैकैतत्परिभाषायामपि निमित्तमिति ङेसंनिपातनिमित्तकतयादेशस्यान्तरङ्गस्य दृष्ट्याधिक्यापेक्षदीर्घस्यासिद्धत्वान्न परिभाषाप्रवृत्तिरित्याशयेन शङ्कते । न च यञादित्वेति ॥ बहिरङ्गपरिभाषायाः प्रवृत्तिमभ्युपेत्यापि समाधत्ते । आरोपितेति ॥ वस्तुतस्तु बहिरङ्गपरिभाषाया विषय एवेत्याशयेनाह । किंचेति ॥.

The objection which is refuted in the following is this:

'In राम+ङे the *yâdes'a* and this Paribhâshâ are *antaranga*;

In राम+य the *Dîrgha* is *bahiranga*.

The object of the Par. is to prevent the destruction of a *Samnipâta*; if now the Par. is *antaranga*, and the *Dîrgha bahiranga*, the latter does, so far as regards the Par., not exist; consequently there is (in रामाय) no destruction of a *Samnipâta* which the Par. could have prevented, and the Par. cannot be applicable at all in the formation of रामाय.'

asiddha, and that consequently there is here no destruction of a combination (which the present Paribhâshâ could prevent)." For though (the substitution of long आ when it once has taken place) might be looked upon as *asiddha*, as a matter of fact the present (Paribhâshâ) has to be applied when a combination is about to be destroyed (*i. e.* at a time when the *Dîrgha*, which was supposed to be *asiddha* in regard to it, does not exist yet). Besides, although something *bahiranga* is *asiddha* when that which is *antaranga* is (still) to take effect, there is nothing to prove that it is *asiddha* when that which is *antaranga* has taken effect (already).[1] Moreover, if the present (Paribhâshâ) were not applicable whenever the (actual) destruction of a combination might be regarded as not having taken place, (then it would not be applicable) *e. g.* in (the formation of the Voc. Sing.) गौरि (from गौरी+सु = गौरि+सु)[2] because, the elision of the Vocative (termination सु) being regarded as *sthânivat* (*i. e.* सु

1. The substitution of long आ in रामाय can accordingly not be *asiddha* in regard to the Paribhâshâ, and the latter, if it did really exist, ought to have prevented it.

2. In गौरी+सु ई is by P. VII., 3, 107 substituted for the ई of गौरी before the Voc. termination सु; we obtain thus गौरि+सु; subsequently सु is elided by P. VI., 1, 69 because it is preceded by a short vowel. According to the Bhâshya the present Par. is applicable in this case and ought to have prevented the elision of सु; but it has not been applied because it is not universally valid. If however the elision of सु could have been regarded as *sthânivat i. e.* सु as still present so far as regards the Par., the latter would not have been applicable at all in this case because there would have existed no destruction of a *Samnipâta* which it could have prevented, and the Bhâshya, according to which it ought to have been applied, would be incorrect.

as still present), the combination (गौरी+सु) which has caused (the substitution of) the short (इ), might have been (regarded as) not destroyed; in that case however the Bhâshya on the rule P. I., 1, 39 which maintains that (although the Paribhâshâ is really applicable in the formation of गौरि etc.) it ought (nevertheless) not to be applied there (because it is not universally valid), would be incorrect.[1] Should one object that (an operation) cannot be *sthânivat* in regard to a *Samnipâta* because the latter is not taught in grammar,[2] then one must show also how (an operation)[3] can be *asiddha* in regard to it, especially as it has been clearly stated by Kaiyaṭa on P. I., 1, 11, that (an operation) cannot be *asiddha* in regard to something that is not taught in grammar, (a statement) which moreover proves that the present Paribhâshâ can certainly prevent the taking effect even of such operations as are taught in the three last chapters of Pâṇini's grammar (*viz.* because according to it such operations cannot be *asiddha* in regard to this Paribhâshâ)'.

(This objection concerning रामाय) would be untenable, because the fact that (Pâṇini) has put down कृष्णाय in III., 1, 14, shows that the present (Paribhâshâ) is not universally valid.[4]

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1. If the elision of the सु after गौरि cannot be regarded as *sthânivat*, the substitution of long आ in रामाय can also not be regarded as *asiddha* in regard to the Par., and the latter ought to have prevented it.

2. *Scil.* and that the statement of the Bhâshya concerning गौरि need therefore not be incorrect even when the lengthening of the अ in रामाय is regarded as *asiddha* in regard to the Paribhâshâ.

3. Such as the substitution of long आ in रामाय.

4. *I. e.* Though the Paribhâshâ is applicable in the formation of रामाय, it has nevertheless not prevented the substitution of आ, because it is not universally valid.—See Si. Kau. I., pag. 93.

It[1] is however not necessary that the two things the combination of which the (taking effect of a) rule would destroy (if its application were not prevented by the present Paribhâshâ) should both be specially put down[2] in the rule (the application of) which is occasioned by their combination.[3] When it is suggested in the Bhâshya on the rule P. I., 1, 39, that in (the formation of) दक्षि (from दक्ष+इञ्) the term *Anga*, which is applicable (to दक्ष) because a base ending with the letter अ is here combined with (the affix) इञ्, ought in consequence of this Paribhâshâ not to cause the elision of the अ (of दक्ष),[4] this suggestion is accordingly disposed of by (the remark that this Paribhâshâ is) not universally valid. (If on the other hand what we maintain here were incorrect, then the Paribhâshâ would not be applicable at all in the formation of दाक्षि), because it has not been stated in P. I., 4, 13 that the term *Anga* is assigned to (a base) ending in short अ (before the affix इञ्).

To say, 'that (the author of) the Bhâshya is wrong when he states that in the case of कुम्भकारिभ्यः, आधये (from आधे+ए) etc. (कुम्भकारि, आधे etc.) ought in consequence of (the existence of)

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1. See Bhairavamis'ra: अत्र कश्चित्। ययोः संनिपातस्य विधानकं शास्त्रं तयोर्यत्र संनिपाननिमित्तकविधावुपादानं तत्रैवैतस्याः प्रवृत्तिः। यथाधये चिकीर्षेत्र इत्यत्रानया परिभाषया लुगभावः। अस्ति च संनिपानलक्षणाविधौ घेर्ङिति [७.३.१११] इत्यत्र तयेति रामायेत्यत्र न संनिपातपरिभाषाप्रवृत्तिरिति। तन्न। एनामाश्रित्य कुम्भकारिभ्य इत्यत्र दोषाभावप्रतिपादकभाष्यविरोधात्। तदाह। ययोरित्यादि॥

2. उपादानम् *i. e.* विशिष्योपादानम्. P.

3. As is the case *e. g.* in P. VII., 3, 111 where घि and ङिति are actually put down, and where, when P. VII., 3, 111 has taken effect (*i. e.* when *e. g.* चिकीर्षु+ए has been changed to चिकीर्षे+ए), the Par. prevents the application of P. I., 1, 39 which would cause the elision of the termination ए.

4. See above pag. 413.

this Paribhâshâ not to be termed *avyaya* (by P. I., 1, 39); that in consequence of this Paribhâshâ लुक् ought not to be (substituted for the terminations भ्यः, ए etc.),[1] but that (कुम्भकारे, आखे etc.) might certainly be termed *avyaya*, because the combinations (कुम्भकार+भ्यः, आखि+ए etc.) *would* be destroyed by the substitution of लुक् (for भ्यः, ए etc.), but *not* by (the assignment to कुम्भकारे, आखे etc. of) the term *avyaya*; that the result however of (कुम्भकारे etc.) being termed (*avyaya*) would be (the possibility of inserting in them) अकच् (by P. V., 3, 71),'—would not be correct. For no fault (can be found with the above statement that कुम्भकारे etc. in consequence of the existence of this Paribhâshâ cannot be termed *avyaya*), because on the authority of the Bhâshya when it gives those examples[2] (कुम्भकारेभ्यः etc.), the meaning (of the Paribhâshâ is this) that (a rule or operation) does not cause (the application of another rule or operation) which would *directly* or *indirectly* destroy that combination by which its own (application) was occasioned; hereby the opinion that अकच् may be (inserted in कुम्भकारेभ्यः, आखये etc.)[3] is refuted.—Nor can one say that (when) on the Kâryakâlapaksha[4] (the *Avyaya-samjnâ*-rule P. I., 1, 39 has united itself both with the rule P. II., 4, 82 which teaches the substitution of लुक् for भ्यः etc., and with P. V., 3, 71 which teaches the insertion of अकच्,) the term *avyaya*, so far as it would be united with (the rule P. V., 3, 71 which teaches the insertion of) अकच्, might be (assigned to कुम्भकारे, आखे etc.), although it could (in consequence of this

1. *Viz.* because it is the addition of भ्यः and ए to कुम्भकार and आखि which has caused the substitution of ए for the final vowels of the latter. (P. VII., 3, 103; and 111).

2. एतदुदाहरण° *i. e.* अकञ्प्रहितोदाहरण°. P.

3. *Viz.* because कुम्भकारे etc. *are* termed *avyaya* by P. I., 1, 39.

4. See Par. III.

Paribhâshâ) not be (assigned to them) so far as it would be united with (the rule P. II., 4, 82 which teaches the substitution of) लुक्;[1] for the Guṇa (ए) etc. (of आबे etc.), being *bahiranga* in regard to the *antaranga* term (*avyaya*) united with अकच्, would be *asiddha* in regard (to the latter);[2] on the other hand[3] (the term *avyaya*) united with लुक् is not *antaranga* in regard to the Guṇa (ए) etc. (of आबे etc.) because both are dependent on the same formal cause *viz.* the case-terminations (ए, भ्यः etc.).

Owing to the fact that (Pâṇini) has put down (not only कष्टाय

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1. *I. e.* As लुक् would destroy the *Samnipâta* कुम्भकार+भ्यः, the rule which teaches लुक् cannot take effect and the term *avyaya*, which is united with that rule, cannot be assigned to कुम्भकारे. But as the insertion of अकच् would not destroy the *Samnipâta*, the rule which teaches it might take effect and the term *avyaya*, which is united with that rule, *might* be assigned to कुम्भकारे.

2. The rule which teaches अकच् cannot take effect (and the term *avyaya* which is united with it can consequently not be assigned to कुम्भकारे etc.) because the ए of कुम्भकारे etc., on which its taking effect would depend, is *bahiranga* and therefore *asiddha* in regard to it:

$$\text{कुम्भकार}+\left\{\begin{matrix}\text{अ}\\ \text{ए}\end{matrix}\right\}+\text{भ्यः}.$$

अकच् is caused by ए; ए is caused by भ्यः; the former is therefore *antaranga* and the latter *bahiranga*.

3. The rule which teaches the substitution of ए and that which teaches the substitution of लुक् for भ्यः etc. (together with the assignment of the term *avyaya* to कुम्भकारे etc.) have both the same causes, and as we therefore cannot prevent here the substitution of लुक् and the assignment of the term *avyaya* to कुम्भकारे etc. by means of Par. L., we must have recourse to the present Paribhâshâ, and must make the latter convey the meaning assigned to it above (साक्षात्परंपरया वा etc.) To show this, Nâgojibhaṭṭa adds: 'on the other hand etc.'

in III., 1, 14, but) also (या and सा)[1] in VII., 3, 45, this (Paribhâshâ) is not universally valid, and it is therefore not applied whenever an incorrect form would result from its application; it is found in the Bhâshya on the rule P. I., 1, 39. (The faults) which would arise (from it, if it were applied indiscriminately everywhere, and to avoid which) it must be regarded as not universally valid, have all been enumerated in the Bhâshya as follows: (If it were universally valid),

(*a*). an affix depending on a letter would not have caused the disappearance of that letter (*e. g.* in) दाक्षि ;[2]

(*b*). the आ which (by P. VI., 1, 48) is substituted (for the ई of क्री etc. before the causal-affix णिच्, would not have caused) the addition of the augment पुक् (to क्रा etc. by P. VII., 3, 36 *e. g.* in) क्रापयति ;

(*c*). the augment पुक् (which by P. VII., 3, 36 is added to दा etc., would not have caused) the shortening (of the आ of दाप् etc. by P. VII., 4, 1 *e. g.* in) अदीदपत् ;

(*d*). the letter अ (which is substituted by P. VII., 2, 102 for the final) of त्यद् etc. (before the case-affix सु etc. would not have caused) the addition of (the feminine affix) टाप्[3] (by P. IV., 1, 4 *e. g.* in) या, सा ;

(*e*). the augment इट् which (by P. VII., 2, 67) is prefixed (to the affix वस् after roots ending in आ, would not have caused) the elision of this letter आ (by P. VI., 4, 64 *e. g.* in) पपिवस् ;

(*f*). the *udâtta* accent which by P. VI., 1, 176 is assigned to मतुप् and by P. VI., 1, 169 to a case-termination (after an *antodâtta* base, would not have caused) the latter to lose its

1. See below.
2. See above pag. 412, note 7.
3. *Viz.* because the case-affix सु disappears after टाप्.

udâtta accent (by P. VI., 1, 158, *e. g.* in) अग्निमत्, परमवाचा;

(*g.*) the short vowel which (by P. VII., 3, 107) is substituted (for the final) of a base termed *nadî* (before the Voc.-termination सु, would not have caused) the elision of the Voc.-termination (सु by P. VI., 1, 69 *e. g.* in) नदि, कुमारि etc.;

(*h*). the य which (by P. VII., 1, 13) is substituted (for the termination ङे after a base in short अ, would not have caused) the lengthening (of that अ by P. VII., 3, 102, *e. g.* in) कट्टाय.

Except in these[1] cases (the Paribhâshâ) must be applied everywhere, for it has been stated in the Bhâshya (on P. I., 1, 39) that all faults whatsoever (that would arise from an indiscriminate application of the Paribhâshâ) have been enumerated in the above. More hereof elsewhere.[2]

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1. Pâyagunda: इतो नवभ्यः । यद्यपीदानीमिनभाष्यपुस्तकेषु चरमवार्त्तिकं (*i. e.* यादेशो दीर्घत्वस्य) न दृश्यते तथापि तद्भ्रष्टमिति बोध्यम् ॥

2. अन्यत्र *i. e.* उह्यौतादौ. P.—See Si. Kau. I., pag. 94; 142; II., pag. 45; 220; 360. Bhâshya on P. II., 4, 81; III., 1, 36; VII., 2, 101; VII., 3, 116; VIII., 2, 2 (see above pag. 233).

Paribhashâ LXXXVI.

One might say that, when *e. g* the affix अण् has by P. IV., 2, 24 been added to पञ्चेन्द्राणी, and when subsequently this अण् (of पञ्चेन्द्राणी+अण्) has been elided by P. IV., 1, 88, and when (in consequence of this elision) the feminine affix (ङीष् of इन्द्राणी) has likewise been elided by P. I., 2, 49, the augment आन् (which by P. IV., 1, 49 had been added to इन्द्र to form इन्द्राणी) ought to remain audible (in the adjective formed in this manner. The author of the Paribhâshâs) says therefore:

P. LXXXVI : When of two things which are taught together one disappears,[1] then the other disappears likewise.[2]

The fact that (Pâṇini) has put down लस्य in the rule VI., 4, 153, indicates (the existence of) this (Paribhâshâ) ; for the object of लस्य is, by teaching us that ल alone shall be elided, to show that (the augment) कुक् (which by P. IV., 2, 91 is added to विल्व etc. when ल is affixed to them) shall not disappear (by P. VI., 4, 153).[3] The expression 'विल्वक etc.' in P. VI., 4, 153 can only denote the words विल्व etc. in (the Gaṇa) नडादि, after they have received the augment कुक्.[4]

Nor can one object that, 'even (if the existence of the Paribhâshâ were indicated) in this manner, the word लस्य (in P.

1. अन्यतरापाये *scil.* आश्रयतः प्राप्ते सति. P.

2. *E. g.* when the feminine affix ङीप् of इन्द्राणी disappears, the augment आन् must disappear likewise, because both have been taught together in P. IV., 1, 49.

3. If the Paribhâshâ did not exist, लस्य would be superfluous, because even without it लुक् could by P. VI., 4, 153 have been substituted only for ल, because only the latter, but not the augment कुक्, follows upon विल्वक etc.—Now one might say that लस्य cannot be *Jnâpaka* because it may serve a purpose even if the Paribhâshâ does not exist; as विल्वक etc. in P. VI., 4, 153 might be bases derived from विल्व etc. by means of the affix क, ल may have been put down in that rule in order to prevent the substitution of लुक् for some other affix that might be added to those bases विल्वक etc. Nâgojibhaṭṭa adds therefore: 'The expression.....'

4. *Viz.* because these words present themselves to us immediately when we hear the expression विल्वकादि. P. VI., 4, 153 would therefore not teach the elision of any other affix than ल, even if it did not contain the word लस्य.

VI., 4, 153) would still serve no purpose, because the fact that (विल्वक etc.) have been put down (in that rule) *with* the augment कुक्, proves by itself sufficiently that that (augment) does not disappear (by it; for) if it were otherwise,[1] (Pâṇini) would have said simply विल्वादिभ्यः,[2] (a rule) which would not have been too widely applicable because it would in accordance with Par. CV. have enjoined (the substitution of) लुक् only for that affix (the addition of which to विल्व is taught in a rule) in which विल्व etc. are expressly mentioned (as receiving it, *i. e.* for the affix छ which by P. IV., 2, 91 is added to the words of the Gaṇa नडादि in which विल्व etc. are actually enumerated)'; —for the fact that (विल्वक etc.) have been put down (in P. VI., 4, 153) *with* (the augment) कुक् would serve a purpose (even if the present Paribhâshâ did not exist and if कुक् did really disappear), because they would have been put down (*with* कुक्) to prevent (the substitution of) लुक् for (the affix) अण् which by P. IV., 3, 136 is added to विल्व etc. in the sense of 'made of' etc., (a substitution which the supposed rule विल्वादिभ्यः would have enjoined) because (in P. IV., 3, 136 विल्व etc.) are still *more* distinctly mentioned than they are in P. IV., 2, 91 (which teaches the addition of छ to नड etc. to which विल्व etc. belong).[3]

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1. अन्यथा *i. e.* तदनुवादस्य तदनिवर्तकत्वाभावे. P.

2. The sense of which rule would be: विल्वादिभ्यः परस्य प्रत्ययस्य लुक्.

3. If Pâṇini had said विल्वादिभ्यः in VI., 4, 153, we should have taken these विल्वादि to be the विल्वादि in P. IV., 3, 136, and P. VI., 4, 153 would have taught us the elision of the affix अण् of P. IV., 3, 136. Pâṇini was obliged to say विल्वकादिभ्यः in order to show, that he meant the विल्वादि of P. IV., 2, 91, and he adds छस्य, because otherwise the क् of विल्वक would by the present Paribhâshâ have disappeared together with छ. (The affix छ of P. IV., 2, 91 is *pratipadokta* because the विल्वादि actually stand

Where however (the things which are taught together) are joined by the particle च 'and,' denoting community of reference, there this (Paribhâshâ) is established also by a maxim of ordinary life, because (in accordance with the practice of ordinary life) two things enjoined (in this manner) can exist only at one and the same time and in one and the same place.

When Kaiyaṭa[1] however on the rule P. VI., 4, 155 states: 'The fact[2] that (the Vârttika) णाविष्ठवत् (प्रातिपदिकस्य) is made to enjoin that (a Prâtipadika before णि) takes its masculine form, is meant to indicate that the present (Paribhâshâ) is not universally valid; otherwise to enjoin this would have been clearly superfluous; as soon namely as in the formation of a nominal

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among the नडादि to which फ is added by that rule; but the affix अण् of IV., 3, 136 is even *more pratipadokta* because the very word विल्वादि is actually put down in the latter rule).—The correct interpretation of P. VI., 4 153 is according to Pûyagunda this: भाविकुगागमकविल्वादिशब्दपुरस्कारेण विहितस्य च्छस्य लुक्.

See for the above the Bhâshya on P. VI., 4, 153 where this Paribhâshâ is read thus: संनियोगशिष्टानामन्यतराभाव उभयोरप्यभावः.—Bhâshya on P. IV., 1, 36 संनियोगशिष्टानामन्यतरापाये उभयोरप्यपायः । तद्यथा देवदत्तयज्ञदत्ताभ्यामिदं कार्यं कर्तव्यं देवदत्तापाये यज्ञदत्तोऽपि न करोति । (Kaiyaṭa: लौकिकोऽयं न्यायः । एकैकस्मिन्प्रयोजने येषां सहाधिकारस्तेषान्यतरनिवृत्तावितरेषांनिवृत्तिः); similarly on P. V., 1, 64.

1. See Bhâshya on P. VI., 4, 155: णाविष्ठवत्प्रातिपदिकस्य । णौ प्रातिपदिकस्येष्ठवद्भावो वक्तव्यः । किं प्रयोजनम् । पुंवद्भावरभावटिलोपयणादिपरार्थम् । पुंवद्भावार्थम्। एनीमाचष्ट एतयति ॥

Kaiyaṭa: एतयतीति । तसिलादिस्त्वादिष्ठे पुंवद्भावो विहित इति णावपि भवति । टिलोपेनैव संनियोगशिष्टत्वान्नकारनिवृत्तौ सिद्धायां पुंवद्वचनं संनियोगशिष्टपरिभाषाया अनित्यत्वज्ञापनार्थं तेन इयेनेय इत्यादि सिद्धं भवति ॥

2. P. IV., 1, 39 teaches that *e. g.* एन receives in the feminine 'the affix ङीष्, and that at the same time न् is substituted for त्. Kaiyaṭa

verb *e. g.* from एनी (the feminine affix) ङीप् of the latter would disappear by the elision of the final vowel, the न् (of एनी which has been taught together with ङीप् in P. IV., 1, 39) would likewise disappear again by the present Paribhâshâ (if it were universally valid), and we should thus arrive at the correct form एतयति (even if the above Vârttika did not enjoin that a Prâtipadika before णि takes its masculine form);'—this is incorrect. For it is necessary that the above Vârttika should enjoin that a Prâtipadika before णि takes its masculine form (even when the present Paribhâshâ *is* universally valid) because we can only thus account for the formation of *e. g.* ऐडबिडयति[1] 'he names Iḍabiḍ' (from इडबिड् 'a female descendant of Iḍabiḍ.') The forms ऐनेय, इयैनेय etc. (derived from एनी, इयैनी etc.) however are accounted for by the circumstance that (the elision of the feminine affix

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maintains now, that, if the present Paribhâshâ were universally valid, it would only have been necessary to teach that the ई of एनी disappears before णि, because by the Paribhâshâ the न् of एनी would have to disappear again together with ई; and that, when it has been stated besides on P. VI., 4, 155, that एनी before णि must take its mascul. form एत, this proves that the Paribhâshâ cannot be universally valid. He further states that by adopting this view concerning the Paribhâshâ we can account for the formation of *e. g.* इयैनेय (from इयैनी), in which न् has *not* disappeared together with ई.

1. It would be impossible to account for the formation of *e. g.* ऐडबिडयति (from इडबिड्, the Fem. of ऐडबिड) if it had not been stated on P. VI., 4, 155, that before णि a Prâtipadika must take its mascul. form.

See Chitprabhâ: तलेडबिडौऽपत्यमित्यर्थे जनपदशब्दात्क्षत्रियादञ् [४.१.१६८] इत्यञ्यतश्च [४.१.१७७] इति स्त्रियां लुकीडबिड्शब्दो हलन्तो निष्पन्नः। तस्मात्प्रातिपदिकादिति णिचि पुंवद्भावेन लुप्तवृत्तबिडबिडयतीति प्रयोगो भवति। अन्यथेडबिडयतीति प्रयोगापत्तिः॥

ङीष् of the latter) is *sthânivat*;[1] more hereof elsewhere.[2]

1. If the elision of the ई of एनी is regarded as *sthânivat*, *i. e.* ई as still present, there is no reason why न् should disappear by the present Paribhâshâ.

2. अन्यत्र *i. e.* स्थानिवत्सूत्रे विवरणे शेखरे च. Chitprabhâ.

PARIBHÂSHÂ LXXXVII.

One might say that, when (the affix) ण has by P. IV., 4, 61 and 62 been added *e. g.* to चुरा (and when in this manner चौर) 'one whose habit is to steal' (has been formed), there exists no rule by which to account for (the addition of the affix) ङीष् (to चौर) in the Feminine. (The author of the Paribhâshâs) says therefore:

P. LXXXVII: (The same operations) which are occasioned by (the addition of the affix) अण्, take place whenever (the affix) ण is added in the sense of 'one whose habit is that' (or related to that which is denoted by the base to which ण is added).[1]

The fact that the word कार्म (derived from कर्मन् by the addition of ण) has been put down (by Pâṇini) in (the rule) VI., 4, 172,

1. *I. e.* when ण is added to छत्र etc. by P. IV., 4, 62.— चौर, derived by the addition of the ण of P. IV., 4, 62 from चुरा, takes therefore by P. IV., 1, 15 ङीष् in the Femin., just as if it had been formed by means of the affix अण्.

Cf. Bhairavamis'ra: ननु लाघवाय च्छत्रादिभ्योऽण्यिष्यत एव कुतो न सूत्रितमिति चेत्। न। ज्ञापकसिद्धं न सर्वत्र [प° १।१।६] इत्येतद्विषयत्वसूचनात्। तेन च्छात्रेय्यपि सिध्यति॥

in order to show that (the अन् of कर्मन् before ण) does contrary to P. VI., 4, 167 *not* remain unchanged, indicates (the existence) of this (Paribhâshâ).[1] Modern[2] (grammarians) say that one reason for (adopting) the present (Paribhâshâ) is this that we can account by it also for (the addition of the affix) फिञ् of P. IV., 1, 156, to a base ending in ण added in the sense of 'whose habit is that.'[3] As it has been stated (in the Paribhâshâ that ण must have been added in the sense of) 'whose habit is that,' (the Paribhâshâ does not apply) when ण is added by P. IV., 2, 57, (and the Fem. of दाण्ड can therefore) only be दाण्डा.[4] (The Paribhâshâ) is found in the Bhâshya on the rule P. VI., 4, 172.

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1. कर्मन् receives ण by P. IV., 4, 62. If the Paribhâshâ did not exist, P. VI., 4, 167 would not apply to कर्मन् + ण and कार्म would be formed regularly by P. VI., 4, 144, *i. e.* the rule P. VI., 4, 172 would be entirely superfluous. But as the Par. does exist, P. VI., 4, 167 would have been applied also in the case of कर्मन्+ण, if Pâṇini had not put down कार्म in VI., 4, 172.—See the Bhâshya on this rule.

2. नव्याः *i. e.* दीक्षितादयः. P.

3. According to Nâgojibhaṭṭa this is incorrect, because the अण् of P. IV., 1, 156 is not (like अण् in P. IV., 1, 15 or VI., 4, 167) अण् generally, but is the particular अण् which denotes 'a descendant,' and because by Par. CI. operations that may be occasioned by such a particular अण्, cannot be assigned to ण. P.

4. The ण in this Paribhâshâ is only the ण of P. IV., 4, 62, not the ण of *e. g.* P. IV., 1, 147; 150; IV., 2, 57 etc.

PARIBHÂSHÂ LXXXVIII.

One might say that there can be no reason why *e. g.* in the Instr. Dat. Abl. Du. of कंसवारिमृज् Vṛiddhi should not be substi-

tuted (for the ऋ) of मृज् (by P. VII., 2, 114. The author of the Paribhâshâs) says therefore:

P. LXXXVIII: When an operation (dependent on an affix) is taught concerning a root, it takes place (only when the root) is followed by such an affix[1] (as can be added to roots).[2]

The fact that (Pâṇini in VI., 4, 174) has put down भ्रौणहत्य (in order to show that when ष्यञ् by V., 1, 124 is added to भ्रूणहन्) त् is (irregularly) substituted (for the final of the latter), indicates (the existence of) this (Paribhâshâ).[3] The reading[4] धातोः स्वरूपग्रहणे तत्प्रत्यये कार्यविज्ञानम् ('when some *individual*[5] root is put down in a rule, the operation which concerning that root is taught in the rule, is understood to take place only whenever the root is followed by such an affix as can be added to roots') however (of this Paribhâshâ) has been censured in the Bhâshya (on

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1. तत्प्रत्यये *i. e.* तत्प्रकृतिकप्रत्यये. P.

2. *E. g.* Vriddhi is by P. VII., 2, 114 substituted for the ऋ of मृज् in the Infin. मार्ष्टुम्, but not in the Instr. Du. of कंसपरिमृज् because मृज् is here followed by a case-affix which cannot be added to roots.

3. If the Paribhâshâ did not exist, it would have been useless to put down भ्रौणहत्य in P. VI., 4, 174 because in that case त् would have been substituted for the final न् of भ्रूणहन् before ष्यञ् by P. VII., 3, 32 (which would have superseded P. VI., 4, 144).—P. When the author of the Bhâshya on P. VI., 4, 174 says that the putting down of भ्रौणहत्य indicates 'तद्धिते परे तत्वं न भवति' he states thereby merely what results from this Paribhâshâ, and Kaiyaṭa's remark 'धातोः स्वरूपग्रहणे तत्प्रत्यये कार्यविज्ञानमित्यनपेक्ष्य ज्ञापकमुक्तं तदपेक्षायां तत्वस्याप्रसङ्गात्' is therefore incorrect.

4. पाठः *scil.* वार्त्तिककृदुक्तः. P.

5. स्वरूप° *i. e.* विशेष°. P.

P. VII., 2, 114), on the ground that (in accordance with it the augment) अम् might (by P. VI., 1, 59) be inserted (after the radical vowel) *e. g.* in the Instr. Plur. of प्रसृज् (*viz.* because no *individual* root has been put down in that rule).[1]

This (Paribhâshâ) decides (the taking place or not taking place only of) those operations which are dependent on affixes,[2] (and the optional) substitution of क् (for the final of नश् which is taught) in P. VIII., 2, 63 does therefore take place *e. g.* in the Instr. Du. of प्रणश्,[3] because it depends (not on an affix but) on the circumstance that (नश्) is the end of a *Pada*. With the rules that teach (the substitution of) इयङ् etc.[4], however, it has no concern, because the prohibition P. VI., 4, 85 (regarding सुधी shows) that it is not universally valid.[5] It is found in the Bhâshya[6] on P. VII., 2, 114.

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1. *Scil.* and because the Paribhâshâ would accordingly not be applicable in P. VI., 1, 59.

2. P. The meaning of the Paribhâshâ is consequently: प्रत्यये परतो यद्धातोः कार्यमुच्यते तद्धातुसंज्ञशब्दनेन विहितप्रत्यये परतो बोध्यम्.

3. प्रनड्भ्याम् or प्रणग्भ्याम्.—But the augment नुम् of P. VII., 1, 60 cannot be inserted in the Instr. Du. of प्रणश्; see Kaiyaṭa on P. VII., 2, 114: नुमागमस्तु प्रत्ययापेक्षत्वादधातुप्रत्यये न भवति.

4. P. VI., 4, 77; the 'etc.' includes यण् (P. VI., 4, 82).

5. If it were universally valid, सुधी would not fall under P. VI., 4, 82 and the prohibition concerning सुधी in VI., 4, 85 would be superfluous.

6. See Bhâshya on P. VII., 2, 114: मृजेर्वृद्धिः। मृजेर्वृद्धिर्विधौ क्रियतिषेधः। मृजेर्वृद्धिर्विधौ क्रियन्तस्य प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः। कंसपरिमृड्भ्यां कंसपरिमृड्भिः। धातोः स्वरूपग्रहणे वा तत्प्रत्ययविज्ञानात्सिद्धम्। अथवा धातोः स्वरूपग्रहणे तत्प्रत्यये कार्यविज्ञानात्सिद्धं धातुप्रत्यये कार्यं भवतीत्येषा परिभाषा कर्तव्या। कान्येतस्याः परिभाषायाः प्रयोजनानि। प्रयोजनं सृजिदृशिमस्जिनशिहन्तिगिरत्यर्थम्। सृजि। रज्जुसृड्भ्यां रज्जुसृड्भिः (P. VI., 1, 58)। दृशि। देवदृग्भ्यां देवदृग्भिः (VI., 1, 58)। मस्जि। उदकमग्भ्यामुद-

कमभिः (VII., 1, 60) । नक्षि । प्रनडभ्यां प्रनडभिः (VII., 1, 60) । हन्ति । वाक्षिणौ भ्रौणघ्नः (VII., 3, 32) । गिरि । देवगिरौ देवगिरः (VIII., 2, 21) ॥ यदि स्वरूपग्रहण इत्युच्यते प्रसृडभ्यां प्रसृडभिरनुदात्तस्य चर्दुपधस्यान्यतरस्याम् [६.१.५९] इत्यम्प्राप्नोति । एवं तर्हीयं परिभाषा कर्तव्या । धातोः कार्यमुच्यमानं तत्प्रत्यये भवतीति । सा तर्ह्येषा परिभाषा कर्तव्या । न कर्तव्या । आचार्यप्रवृत्तिर्ज्ञापयति भवत्येषा परिभाषा यदयं भ्रौणहन्ये तत्वं शास्ति ॥

Cf. also the Bhâshya on P. VI., 1, 58, VII., 3, 32 and VIII., 2, 22, where we find the reading धातोः स्वरूपग्रहणे ; also Si. Kau. II., pag. 186.

PARIBHÂSHÂ LXXXIX.

One might say that, (when अकच् has by P. V., 3, 71 been inserted) *e. g.* (in सर्व and उच्चैः), सर्वक and उच्चकैः ought not to be termed *Sarvanâman* and *Avyaya* (by P. I., 1, 27 and I., 1, 37 respectively, because these rules teach only that सर्व and उच्चैः are termed *Sarvanâman* and *Avyaya* respectively, and that *e. g.* the Nom. Plur. Masc. of सर्वक ought therefore not to be सर्वके by P. VII., 1, 17. The author of the Paribhâshâs) says therefore :

P. LXXXIX : (Any term) that may be employed (in grammar), denotes (not merely what is actually denoted by it, but it denotes also whatever word-form may result when) something (is) inserted in that (which is actually denoted by it).[1]

(P. VII., 1, 11 teaches that in the Instr. Plur. of इदम् and अदस् ऐः shall not be substituted for the termination भिः ; when he) in

1. सर्व and उच्चैः in the Ganas on P. I., 1, 27 and 37 denote therefore not only सर्व and उच्चैः, but they denote also सर्वक and उच्चकैः, and the latter are therefore termed *Sarvanâman* and *Avyaya* respectively as well as the former.

the same rule (adds) the prohibition 'अकोः' (meaning, that the rule shall *not* be applied when इदम् and अदस् have क inserted in them, *i. e.* in the Instr. Plur. of इदकम् and अदकस्, his doing so) indicates (the existence) of the present (Paribhâshâ).[1] In the Bhâshya on the rule P. I., 1, 72[2] (the Paribhâshâ) is read thus: तदेकदेशभूतं तद्ग्रहणेन गृह्यते '(any term) that may be employed (in grammar), denotes (not merely what is actually denoted by it, but it denotes also whatever word-form may result when) something else has become part of (what is actually denoted by) it.'

1. If the Paribhâshâ did not exist, the prohibition अकोः would have no sense, because in that case इदम् and अदस् would not denote also इदकम् and अदकस् and because the latter would consequently not fall under P. VII., 1, 11, even if that rule did not contain the word अकोः.—See Mahâbhâshya, Ed. Ballantyne, pag. 787, and the Bhâshya on P. I., 4, 13.—P. adds: If one objects that by adopting the restrictive rule इदमदसोः कात् the अकोः of P. VII., 1, 11 is rejected in the Bhâshya, then the prohibition अकोः in P. VI., 1, 132 may be taken to indicate the existence of this Paribhâshâ. See the Bhâshya in the Calcutta Ed. of Pânini on P. VII., 1, 11.

2. *Scil.* and on P. I., 4, 13.—In the Bhâshya on P. I., 1, 27 and VII., 1, 52 we find तन्मध्यपतितस्यात्.

PARIBHÂSHÂ XC.

One might say that by P. II., 4, 77[1] सिच् ought to be elided (not only in the Aor. Par. of पा, पिबति 'to drink,' but) also in the Aor. Par. of पा, पाति 'to protect,' (and that the latter root

1. *Scil.* which rule teaches that सिच् is elided after पा in the Par.

ought therefore not to form) अपासीत् etc. (The author of the Paribhâshâs) says therefore :

P. XC : (When there is any doubt) as to (whether a term that may be employed in grammar, should denote a root) that has लुक् for its Vikarana (*i. e.* a root of the second class), or (a root) which has a Vikarana other than लुक् (*i. e.* a root of some other class, or both, then that term should be taken to denote only) such a (root) as has a Vikaraṇa other than लुक् (or, in other words, a root which belongs to any but the second class).[1]

The fact that (Pâṇini) in the rule VII., 2, 44 (where he says सूतिसूयति) has put down सू of the second class and सू of the fourth class separately, while (to denote both) he might have said (simply) सूङ् (instead of सूतिसूयति), indicates according to Kaiyaṭa (the existence) of this (Paribhâshâ.[2] But) this is in-

1. पा in P. II., 4, 77 denotes therefore only पा, पिबति, but not पा, पाति.—See Par. CVI.

2. If the Paribhâshâ did not exist, सूङ् would, according to Kaiyaṭa, denote both सु, सुते and सू, सूयते; but as it does exist, सूङ् would (so Kaiyaṭa says) in accordance with it have denoted only सूयते, and Pâṇini was therefore obliged to say सूतिसूयति.

See Bhâshya on P. VII., 2, 44 : अथ किमर्थं सूतिसूयत्योः पृथग्ग्रहणं क्रियते । सुवतेर्मा भूत् ॥

Kaiyaṭa : अथ किमर्थमिति । सूग्रहणमेव क्रियतामिति भावः ॥ सुवतेरिति । अननुबन्धकग्रहणे न सानुबन्धकस्येति सुवतेरेव ग्रहणं स्यात् । सूङ्ग्रहणेऽपि क्रियमाणे लुग्विकरणालुग्विकरणयोरलुग्विकरणस्यैव ग्रहणमिति सूयतेरेव ग्रहणं स्यात् । अस्याश्च परिभाषायाः सूङ्ग्रहणे कर्तव्ये सूतिसूयतीति भेदेनोपादानमेव ज्ञापकम् ॥

correct; for as (सूङ्), because it would have been accompanied (in P. VII., 2, 44 by roots that have Vikaraṇas other than लुक्),[1] would (likewise) have denoted[2] only that (सू) which has a Vikaraṇa other than लुक् (*i. e.* only सू of the fourth class), the separate mention (in P. VII., 2, 44 of both सू) cannot indicate (the existence of) this (Paribhâshâ).[3]

The (existence of the) Paribhâshâ is suggested however in the Bhâshya on P. VII., 2, 15. For when it is suggested on P. VII., 2, 15, that (that rule, if it were not restricted,) would forbid (the augment इट्) in the Past Pass. Ptc. of विद्, वेत्ति 'to know,'[4] (the author of the Bhâshya) states, that (P. VII., 2, 15) forbids (the addition of इट् to the affix of the Past Pass. Ptc.) after exactly the same (roots) after which (इट् is prefixed) optionally (to some other affix, and that it therefore cannot forbid इट् in the Past Pass. Ptc. of विद्, वेत्ति 'to know;' for, he says, 'विद्) in P. VII., 2, 68 denotes (the root विद्) which has श for its Vikaraṇa'[5] (*i. e.* विद्, विन्दति 'to find'), and (विद्, वेत्ति) has लुक् for its Vikaraṇa. च 'and' introduces here the reason, (and) the meaning of the (statement of the author of the Bhâshya is therefore) this that, as (विद्, वेत्ति) has the Vikaraṇa लुक्, (विद् in P. VII., 2, 68) denotes, because it stands near विश्, (that विद्) which has the Vikaraṇa श, but does not, because it stands (also) near हन्, denote also विद्, वेत्ति, for

1. *Viz.* by स्तु, स्वरति etc.

2. See Par. CIII.

3. *Viz.* because it would be absolutely necessary even if the Paribhâshâ did not exist.

4. *Viz.* because after विद् इट् is *optionally* prefixed to क्तु by P. VII., 2, 68.

5. My Ms. and the lithographed Edition of the Mahâbhâshya read शब्विकरणस्य; the right reading शविकरणस्य is found in the Calcutta Ed. of Pâṇini on VII., 2, 15.

the latter would be contrary to the present Paribhâshâ.[1] And it is because (the existence of the Paribhâshâ has thus been suggested in the Bhâshya, and is *not* indicated by सूतिसूयति in P. VII., 2, 44) that we read in the Paribhâshâ (अलुग्विकरणस्य, and) not लुग्विकरणस्य.[2] *Verbatim* however this (Paribhâshâ) is read in the Bhâshya nowhere. On P. II., 4, 77 the author of the Vârttikas says 'that it ought to have been stated that पा (in II., 4, 77) denotes पा, पिबति,' and the author of the Bhâshya, 'that पा wherever it is employed (in Pâṇini's grammar) denotes that (पा) which has not the Vikaraṇa लुक्.'—By Kaiyaṭa (the Paribhâshâ) has been distinctly quoted on the rule P. VII., 2, 44.[3]

1. If the Paribhâshâ did not exist, विद् in P. VII., 2, 68 would denote both विद् विन्दति, and विद्, वेत्ति, because it stands near a root (*viz.* विश्) which has श as Vikaraṇa, and also near a root (*viz.* हन्) which has लुक् as Vikaraṇa; but as the Paribhâshâ does exist, विद् denotes in accordance with it only विद्, विन्दति the Vikaraṇa of which is not लुक्, and does not denote विद्, वेत्ति which has the Vikaraṇa लुक्.

2. If सूतिसूयति were really *Jnâpaka*, it might indicate the very reverse of what is taught in the present Paribhâshâ, *viz.* that such a term 'should be taken to denote only such a root as has the Vikaraṇa लुक्'.—See Râghavendrâchârya: शान एवेति । ज्ञापकासिद्धत्वाभावादेवेत्यर्थः । तन्सिद्धत्वे च लुग्विकरणस्यैवेति ज्ञापने ऽपि सूतिसूयत्योः पृथङ्निर्देशस्य सार्थक्यसंभवात्तथापि ज्ञाप्यत इति भावः ॥

3. See above pag. 433, note 2.—Si. Kau. II., pag. 84.

PARIBHÂSHÂ XCI.

One might say that the substitution of a guttural (for the ह् of हि) which is taught in P. VII., 3, 56, ought not to take place (by that rule) *e. g.* in the Desid. of the Causal of हि (for the ह्

of the Causal base हापि, and that forms like प्रजिघापयिषति are consequently incorrect. The author of the Paribhâshâs) says therefore:

P. XCI: A radical denotes whenever it is employed (in grammar, not only that radical itself, but it denotes) also whatever (base) may result from the addition to it of (the derivative affix) णि.[1]

The fact that (the substitution by P. VII., 3, 56 of a guttural for the ह् of हि) has by (the term) अचङि 'not before चङ्' in the same rule been (expressly) forbidden (for the Aor. of the Causal of हि), indicates (the existence of) this (Paribhâshâ);[2] the latter is applicable however only wherever the substitution of a guttural (may be taught in a rule). It is found in the Bhâshya on the rule P. VII., 3, 56.[3]

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1. हि in P. VII., 3, 56 denotes therefore not only the root हि, but also the Causal base हापि derived from हि.

2. *Viz.* because P. VII., 3, 56, even did it not contain अचङि, would not be applicable in the Causal of हि, if the present Paribhâshâ did not exist.

3. The Paribhâshâ itself is found nowhere in the Bhâshya. See Bhâshya on P. VII., 3, 56: हेरचङि। अचङीति किमर्थम्। प्राजिहियद्भूतम्। हेर्धङि प्रतिषेधानर्थक्यमङ्गान्यत्वात्। हेर्धङि प्रतिषेधो ऽनर्थकः। किं कारणम्। अङ्गान्यत्वात्। ण्यन्तमेतत्। अङ्गमन्यद्भवति। लोपे कृते नाङ्गान्यत्वम्। स्थानिवद्भावादङ्गान्यत्वम्। ज्ञापकं त्वन्यत्र ण्यन्तस्य कुत्वविज्ञानात्। एवं तर्हि ज्ञापयत्याचार्योऽन्यत्र ण्यन्तस्य कुत्वं भवतीति। किमेतस्य ज्ञापने प्रयोजनम्। प्रजिघापयिषतीत्यत्र कुत्वं सिद्धं भवति॥

Kaiyata: अचङीति किमर्थमिति। यस्मिन्हिनोतिरङ्गं तस्मिन्नभ्यासे विज्ञायमाने णौ हिनोतिरङ्गं चङभ्यास इति कुत्वं न भविष्यतीति मत्वा प्रश्नः॥ अन्यत्रेति। सनादावित्यर्थः॥

PARIBHÂSHÂ XCII.

One might say that *e. g.* in (the formation of) the Dat. Plur. of युष्मद् (from युष्मद्+भ्यस्), when the second word in P. VII., 1, 30 is taken to be भ्यम् and when accordingly भ्यम् has been substituted for भ्यस्, and when further the final (of युष्मद्) has been elided (by P. VII., 2, 90, *i. e.* when युष्मद्+भ्यः has been changed to युष्म+भ्यम्), ए ought to be substituted (for the अ of युष्म by P. VII., 3. 103. The author of the Paribhâshâs) says therefore:

P. XCII: When (an operation which is) taught in the Angâdhikâra (P. VI., 4—VII., 4) has taken place and another (operation of the Angâdhikâra) is subsequently applicable, (this latter operation) is not allowed to take place.[1]

Besides (being indicated by the fact that Pâṇini in VII., 3, 79 teaches the substitution of जा for ज्ञा and जन्,[2] the existence of) this (Paribhâshâ) is indicated by the circumstance that (Pâṇini) in VI., 4, 160 teaches (the substitution of) आ (for the initial of ईयस् after क्रय; for) otherwise (to teach) this would have been clearly superfluous, because (the right form क्रायस्) would

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1. *E. g.* When in युष्मद्+भ्यम् the द् of युष्मद् has been elided by P. VII., 2, 90, the final अ of युष्म is not allowed to be changed to ए by P. VII., 3. 103, because the latter rule stands likewise in the Angâdhikâra.

2 See Bhâshya on P. VII., 3, 79: दीर्घोच्चारणं (in जा) किमर्थं न ज्ञाजनी-जै इत्येवोच्येत। का रूपसिद्धिः। जानाति जायते। अतो दीर्घो यञि [७.३.१०१] इति दीर्घत्वं भविष्यति। एवं तर्हि सिद्धे सति यदीर्घोच्चारणं करोति तज्ज्ञापयत्याचार्यो भवत्येषा परिभाषाऽनुवृत्तौ पुनर्वृद्धावविधिरिति। किमेतस्य ज्ञापने प्रयोजनम्। त्रिवर्तेर्गुणप्रतिषेधश्चोदितः स न वक्तव्यो भवति॥

have resulted from (the substitution of) लोप[1] for the letter ई (of ईयस्,) and the (subsequent) lengthening (of the अ of इय) by P. VII., 4, 25.[2] In consequence of this very (*Jnâpaka*) the (Paribhâshâ) concerns also such operations of the Angâdhikâra as would affect different portions (of a word-form).[3] That it is not universally valid, is proved by (the form) द्वयोः[4] which (Pâṇini) has put down (in the rules I., 2, 59 and V., 3, 92; and when) in the Bhâshya[5] on the rule P. VII., 1, 30[6] (the Paribhâshâ) is made to end with the word निष्ठितस्य (meaning, that the second operation is not allowed to take place 'provided the right forms of the language are accomplished' without it), it is made to end so only because (the author of the Bhâshya in

1. लोपः being valid from P. VI., 4, 158.

2. As the Paribhâshâ does exist, आत् in P. VI., 4, 160 is necessary, because in accordance with it P. VII., 4, 25 could not have taken effect after the substitution of लोप by P. VI., 4, 160.

See Bhâshya on P. VI., 4, 160: किमर्थं ङ्याप्प्रातिपदिकस्येयस आत्त्वमुच्यते न लोपः प्रकृतः सोऽनुवर्तते । का रूपसिद्धिः । ङ्यायान् । अकृत्यकार इति दीर्घत्वं भविष्यति । एवं तर्हि सिद्धे सति यदङ्याप्प्रातिपदिकस्येयस आत्त्वं शास्ति तज्ज्ञापयत्याचार्यो भवत्येषा परिभाषाङ्गवृत्ते पुनर्वृत्तावविधिरिति । किमेतस्य ज्ञापने प्रयोजनम् । पिबतेर्गुणप्रतिषेधश्चोदितः स न वक्तव्यो भवति ॥

3. *Viz.* because the लोप of P. VI., 4, 160 would have affected the ई of ईयस् and the lengthening by P. VII, 4, 25 the अ of इय.

4. *Viz.* because in the formation of द्वयोः P. VII., 3, 104 *has* taken effect after the taking effect of P. VII., 2, 102.

5. See Bhâshya on P. VII., 1, 30: भ्यसोभ्यम् । किमयं भ्यमशब्द आहोस्विदभ्यमशब्दः । कुतः संदेहः । समानो निर्देशः । किं चातः । यदि तावद्भ्यमशब्दः ङेर्लोपश्चान्त्यस्येत्वं प्राप्नोति । अथाभ्यमशब्दः शेषे लोपश्च टिलोप उदात्तनिवृत्तिस्वरः प्राप्नोति । यथेच्छसि तथास्तु । अस्तु तावद्भ्यमशब्दः शेषे लोपश्चान्त्यस्य । ननु चोक्तमेत्वं प्राप्नोति । नैष दोषः । अङ्गवृत्ते पुनर्वृत्तावविधिर्निष्ठितस्येति ॥ अथवा पुनरस्त्वभ्यमशब्दः शेषे लोपटिलोपः । ननु चोक्तमुदात्तनिवृत्तिस्वरः प्राप्नोतीति । नैष दोषः । उक्तमेतदादौ सिद्धमिति ॥

6. *Scil.* and on P. VII., 3, 78.

that passage) has included (in his statement) whatever may result from the fact that the Paribhâshâ is not universally valid.[1]

Some however say: 'The present Paribhâshâ (if it were really adopted) would not assist in the formation of any form whatsoever (that could not be formed without it; and) it is for this reason that, when on P. VII., 3, 79 and VI., 4, 160 the question is raised, as to what whould be the object (of the Paribhâshâ) in case (its existence were really) indicated (by ङित् and आत् in P. VII., 3, 79 and VI., 4, 160), the object of it has been stated to be merely, "that it would enable us to dispense with the special rule forbidding the substitution (by P. VII., 3, 86) of Guṇa (for the इ) of क्विप्,[2] the adoption of which had been suggested (on P. VII., 3, 78)," but not (that it would assist in) the formation of certain forms (of the language which could not be formed without it. In view of) this[3] (it) has been stated, that, as has elsewhere been shown, the second word in P. VII., 1, 30 is (really) अयम्; that the elision taught in P. VII., 2, 90 must be the elision of the *final* (of युष्मद् etc.); and that, (when युष्मद्+अस् has accordingly been changed to युष्म+अयम्,)

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1. *I. e.* If the correct forms of the language cannot be formed without the second operation, then the latter is, contrary to the present Paribhâshâ, allowed to take place; but where it is otherwise, there the Paribhâshâ is applied.

2. *Viz.* because by the Paribhâshâ P. VII., 3, 86 would not be allowed to take effect after the substitution of क्वि for क्विप् by P. VII., 3, 78.—If the substitute for क्विप् is made to end in अ, the Paribhâshâ is even here unnecessary, because in that case P. VII., 3, 86 does not apply after the substitution of क्वि by P. VII., 3, 78.

3. *I. e.* In order to show that forms like युष्मयम्, for the formation of which the Paribhâshâ was supposed to be necessary, can be formed without it.

the form युष्मअयम् results from the substitution by P. VI., 1, 97 of the second अ, (*i. e.* the initial अ of अयम्, for both the अ of युष्म and the initial अ of अयम्). And such being the case, the Bhâshya on both rules (VI., 4, 160 and VII., 3, 79 according to which आत् and जा in these rules) should indicate (the existence of) this Paribhâshâ, and the Bhâshya on the rule P. VII., 1, 30, must be (regarded to contain) the statements of one who is only partly acquainted with the true state of the matter.'[1]

1. According to Pâyagunda some say that Nâgojibhaṭṭa has said केचित् (in केचित्··आहुः) in order to show that he does not approve of this view; but others maintain that केचित् means भाष्यतत्त्वविदः. (See also Si. Kau. I., pag. 170; 171; II., pag. 234; 235.)

PARIBHÂSHÂS XCIII., 1-10.

(Some grammarians have said):

'The circumstance that (Pâṇini) in VI., 4, 146 (ओर्गुणः) has employed (the term) गुण, while he should have said ओरेत्, indicates (the existence of the Paribhâshâ):

P. XCIII., 1: A rule is not universally valid, when that which is taught in it is denoted by a technical term.

This (Paribhâshâ applies) only where the technical term which occurs (in the rule) denotes that which is taught in the latter.[1]

1. Because such is the case in the *Jnâpaka*-rule P. VI., 4, 146. P. adds that the technical term must be one which has a meaning also in ordinary life.

Hereby we can account *e. g.* for (the absence of Guṇa in) स्वयंभुव.[1]

Similarly, the circumstance that (Pâṇini in VIII., 4, 16 आनि लोट्) has employed (the term) आनि,[2] while he would have attained his object by saying merely नि लोट्, indicates (the existence of the Paribhâshâ):

P. XCIII., 2: A rule which teaches (the addition of) an augment is not universally valid.

Hereby we can account *e. g.* for (the absence of the augment इट्[3] in तर्नुकाम, which occurs in) सागरं तर्नुकामस्य.

Similarly, the circumstance that (Pâṇini) in the rule III., 1, 79 (तनादिकृञ्भ्य उः) has put down कृञ्, while (the addition to this root of उ) would have resulted already from the fact that कृञ् is enumerated among the तनादि, indicates (the existence of the Paribhâshâ):

P. XCIII., 3: An operation which should affect a (whole) Gana (or class of words) need not necessarily take place.

Hereby we can account *e. g.* for (the presence of the Vikaraṇa श्नु[4] in विश्वसेत्, which we have in) न विश्वसेदविश्वस्ते.

1. Where Guna should have been substituted for the ऊ of स्वयंभू by P. VI., 4, 146.—See Si. Kau. I., pag. 412; II., pag. 161 (क्षिणु च । उपन्ययनिमित्तो लघूपधगुणः संज्ञापूर्वको विधिरनित्य इति न भवतीत्यालेयादयः । भवत्येवेत्यन्ये । क्षिणोति क्षेणोति ।); pag. 236.

2. In which आ is the augment आट् prefixed to नि by P. III., 4, 92.

3. Which should have been added by P. VII., 2, 35.—See Si. Kau. II., pag. 356 (क्षुब्धो राजेति स्वागमशास्त्रस्यानित्यत्वात्).—P. quotes besides अपि शाकं पचानस्य (for पचमानस्य).

4. For which लुक् should have been substituted by P. II., 4, 72.—See Si. Kau. II., pag. 121.

Similarly, the circumstance that चक्षिङ्[1] has been distinguished by an indicatory ङ्, indicates (the existence of the Paribhâshâ) :[2]

P. XCIII., 4 : (The rule P. I., 3, 12, so far as it teaches that a root is followed by the) Âtmanepada-(terminations) when it is distinguished by a gravely accented indicatory vowel, is not universally valid.

Hereby we can account *e. g.* for (the Parasmaipada form स्कायन्,[3] which we have in) स्कायन्निमोकः.

Similarly, the circumstance that (Pâṇini in VI., 1, 158 अनुदात्तं पदमेकवर्जम्) has employed वर्जम्, while he would have attained his object if, having compounded (एक with) the privative नञ् (changed to अन्), he had simply said अनुदात्तं पदमनेकम्,—indicates (the existence of the Paribhâshâ) :

P. XCIII., 5 : (A rule) which contains (the negative) नञ् is not universally valid.

Hereby we can account for the Vocative सुभ्रु,[4] *viz.* because (by this Paribhâshâ) P. I., 4, 4 is not universally valid.'

But all this is incorrect, because (these Paribhâshâs) are not

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1. *Scil.* which is *anudâttet* and which would already on that account by P. I., 3, 12 take the Âtmanepada-terminations.

2. *I. e.* If the final ङ् of चक्षिङ् had not been intended to indicate this Paribhâshâ, it would have sufficed to put down the root चक्ष् as चक्ष *i. e.* with a final *anudâtta* अ.

3. From स्कायीं which, being *anudâttet*, should have been followed by the Âtmanepada-terminations.—See Si. Kau. II., pag. 65; 112; 137.

4. From सुभ्रू which notwithstanding the rule P. I., 4, 4 may be termed *nadî*. See Si. Kau. I., pag. 137.

found in the Bhâshya; because we are not authorized to consider as correct any rule established by a *Jnâpaka*, when (that rule) is not given in the Bhâshya; (and) because the proper manner (to account for the presence) in a rule of grammar of certain letters the purport of which has not been discussed in the Bhâshya, can only be to assume (that they have been placed there for no other reason except in order) that he who may study them should acquire religious merit by doing so.[1]—Moreover, even if (the existence of Par. XCIII., 2) were indicated (by आनि in P. VIII., 4, 16), that आनि would still serve no purpose, because we know of no (Imperative) form which does not contain the augment आ, (and which for the absence of it might have been excluded from P. VIII., 4, 16 by the term आनि of that rule);[2] the presence of the augment आ (in आनि) however should be regarded in the same light as the presence of the term लोट् (in the same rule).[3] This very circumstance (that there is no such Paribhâshâ as आगमशास्त्रमनित्यम्) has enabled (the author of the Bhâshya) on P. VII., 3, 70 to state that the word वा '*optionally*' of that rule can be dispensed with; even when (the आ of आ etc.) is (*always*) elided (by P. VII., 3, 70), we shall (still, instead of that radical आ,) have the augment आ, *viz.*, on the alternative that (by P. III, 4, 94) आ is prefixed (to the personal terminations,

1. Cf. herewith above pag. 341.

2. The आ of आनि would serve no purpose even if the existence of Par. XCIII., 2 were indicated by it and if that Paribhâshâ were adopted, and it can accordingly not be *Jnâpaka*. See above pag. 2, note 3.

3. *I. e.* The आ of आनि is as superfluous as लोट् in the same rule; nevertheless both have been put down by Pâṇini in order that he who may read both may acquire religious merit by doing so. See Bhâshya on P. VIII., 4, 16.

and shall thus arrive at) दधात्; (and when by P. III., 4, 94) अ is prefixed (to the personal terminations, we shall have) दधत्. But, if the rule (P. III., 4, 94) which teaches the addition of the augments (अट् and आट्) were (by the above Paribhâshâ) *not* universally valid, and if the augment आट् accordingly were *not* added, we should not be able to account for the formation of दधात् (provided P. VII., 3, 70 did not teach the *optional* elision of the आ of धा etc.); the word वा 'optionally' (in P. VII., 3, 70) would consequently be absolutely necessary, and the statement according to which it may be dispensed with, would clearly be incorrect.[1] The above shows that the statement of some (grammarians) which is recorded by Kaiyaṭa, according to which 'the word वा in P. VII., 3, 70 indicates that a rule which teaches the addition of an augment is not universally valid,' must likewise be received with caution, *viz.* because it is opposed to the Bhâshya in which (वा) has been rejected (as superfluous).—Moreover (कृञ् in P. III., 1, 79 cannot indicate the existence of Par. XCIII., 3, nor can the ङ् of चक्षिङ् indicate that of Par. XCIII., 4), because according to the Bhâshya (on P. III., 1, 79) कृञ् ought to be removed out of the rule III., 1, 79, and because the letter ङ् in चक्षिङ्, by making चक्ष् (a root) that does not end with the indicatory letter इ,[2] does serve a purpose (even when it does not indicate the existence of Par. XCIII., 4.)

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1. See Bhâshya on P. VII., 3, 70: वेति ज्ञापयमवक्तुम्। कस्मान्न भवति तदग्निरग्नये ददात्। अस्त्वत्र लोपः। भाटः श्रवणं भविष्यति। तेनोभयं भविष्यति। दधद्रत्नानि दाशुषे। दधात्॥

Kaiyaṭa: भाष्यकारेण वेति प्रत्याख्यातम्। केचित्त्वनित्यमागमशासनमित्यस्य ज्ञापकं वाग्रहणं वर्णयन्ति। अनित्यत्वात्तस्याटश्रसति ददादिति न स्यादिति तत्सिद्धये वाग्रहणं क्रियमाणमेतां परिभाषां ज्ञापयति॥

2. See P. VII., 1, 58.

The same opinion[1] should be held in regard to such (Paribhâshâs) as the following (three which are likewise) not mentioned in the Bhâshya:

P. XCIII, 6: Whatever (by a rule of grammar) is transferred (from one element to another) need not necessarily come to pass.[2]

P. XCIII, 7 and 8: A rule which teaches (the substitution of) *Lopa*,[3] and a rule which teaches the (addition of the augment) इट्,[4] possess greater

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1. *Viz.* this that they really are no Paribhâshâs at all.

2. Bhairavamis'ra: स्थानिवत्सूत्रेण सिद्धे प्रत्ययलोपे [१.१.६२] इति सूत्रारम्भादिति भावः । एतत्फलमुभय इति । अत्र स्थानिवद्भावेन सर्वनामसंज्ञाविकल्पो न । अन्तरङ्गत्वेन गतार्थमेतत् ॥

उभ by P. V., 2, 42 उभ+तयप्; this by P. V., 2, 44 उभ+भयच्=उभय. If here the substitute भयच् were equal to तयप्, उभय would in the Nom. Plur. by P. I., 1, 33 be *optionally* Sarvanâman; the fact that it is necessarily Sarvanâman, is accounted for by the above Paribhâshâ. „In reality उभय is necessarily Sarvanâman because it is enumerated among the सर्वादि on P. I., 1, 27. See Si. Kau. I., pag. 98.

3. Bhairavamis'ra: अत्र ज्ञापकं प्रत्ययलोपसूत्रमेव । अन्यत्र तलतल तत्कार्यं कृत्वा लोप एतत्सूत्रवैयर्थ्यं स्यात् । कानि सन्ति कौ स्न इत्यत्र यणादेशात्पूर्वमल्लोपः फलम् (*i. e.* if the अ of अस् had not been elided first, the इ of कानि would have had to be changed to य्) । एतदप्यन्तरङ्गत्वेन गतार्थम् ॥.

4. Bhairavamis'ra: अत्र च ज्ञापकं सनि ग्रहगुहोश्च [७.२.१२] इत्यत्रोकोऽनुकर्षणाय चकारकरणम् । अन्यथा बुभूषतीत्यादौ पूर्वमिको झल् [१.२.९] इति कित्त्वे श्नुक्रुकि [७.२.११] इति सिद्धे तद्वैयर्थ्यं स्पष्टमेव ॥ फलमस्याः श्वयिलेति । परिभाषाभावे पूर्वं संप्रसारणे रूपासिद्धिः । इडागमस्य पूर्वं प्रवृत्तौ तु न क्ङिति सेट् [१.२.१८] इति किन्त्वप्रतिषेधान्न संप्रसारणमिति ॥ एतदप्यन्यथा सिद्धं श्वयिलेत्यत्र नित्यस्वादिति किन्त्वनिषेधान्न च पूर्वं संप्रसारणे श्नुक्रुकि किन्तीनिषेधः ॥

force than all other rules (which may be applicable simultaneously with the former).

(To employ forms such as) स्वायंभुव etc. in the ordinary language, is decidedly incorrect; more hereof elsewhere.[1]

(Other grammarians have) further (said):

'One might maintain that in the Benedictive of the Parasmai. Frequent. (of हन्) वध ought not (by P. II., 4, 42) to be substituted for (the Parasmai. Frequent. base जङ्घन् of) हन्.[2]

(The author of the Paribhâshâs) says therefore:

P. XCIII, 9: A radical denotes whenever it is employed (in grammar, not only that radical itself, but it denotes) also the Parasmai. Frequentative base derived from it.[3]

The established fact that the reduplication which is taught in the sixth (book of Pâṇini's grammar) consists in the twofold employment (of the original which is reduplicated), tells us that the whole form which results from such reduplication has the nature of the original (which is reduplicated), and thereby (the statement contained in) this (Paribhâshâ) is naturally established (as correct.) The above shows[4] why *e. g.* in (the formation of) the 2. Sing. Pres. Imperat. Par. of हु, धि is rightly substituted (by P. VI., 4, 101 for the termination हि), when (the root हु) has been reduplicated (by P. VI., 1, 10).'—

But this is likewise incorrect because it is not found in the

1. अन्यत्र *i. e.* ब्रह्मेनशेखरादौ. P.
2. *Scil.* because जङ्घन् is not हन्.
3. *E. g.* हन् in P. II., 4, 42 denotes not only हन्, but also जङ्घन्.
4. अत एव *i. e.* सिद्धान्तेन समुदाये प्रकृतिरूपत्वबोधनादेव. P.

Bhâshya. Moreover, although the above-mentioned fact may teach us that both (the original and the reduplicative syllable) partake either by itself of the nature of the (original), there is no authority for its teaching us that the whole (reduplicated form likewise) partakes of the nature of the (original which is reduplicated). It is for this very reason[1] that, when on P. VII., 4, 9 the objection is raised[2] that 'when (in the formation of the Red. Perf. of अस् 'to be,' from अस्+लिट्, where two rules are applicable, *viz.* P. II., 4, 52 which teaches the substitution of भू for अस्, 'आर्धधातुके', and P. VI., 1, 8 which teaches the reduplication of अस्, 'लिटि परे'), अस् is (first) reduplicated because (the rule which teaches the reduplication) follows (upon P. II., 4, 52, and) when the (radical) अस्[3] is then changed to भू, the first (reduplicative अस्) ought to remain audible,' this objection is refuted in the Bhâshya by the statement that the Locative (आर्धधातुके of P. II., 4, 52 does not mean आर्धधातुके परे 'when an Ârdhadhâtuka [such as लिट्] follows upon अस्', but) means आर्धधातुकविषये 'wherever an Ârdhadhâtuka may have to be added to अस् at some time or other.'[4] If, on the other hand, a reduplicated form did in the above-mentioned fashion possess the nature of the original which is reduplicated, then (भू) would (by P. II.,

1. अत एव *i. e.* तेन तस्य तत्त्वबोधनस्य मानभावेनासत्त्वादेव. P.

2. See Bhâshya on P. VII., 4, 9: अथ द्विःप्रयोगो द्विर्वचनं परस्य भूभावे कृते पूर्वस्य श्रवणं प्राप्नोति । नैष दोषः । आर्धधातुकीयाः सामान्येन भवन्त्यनवस्थितेषु प्रत्ययेषु । तत्रार्धधातुकसामान्ये भूभावे कृते यो यतः प्राप्नोति स ततो भविष्यति ॥

Kaiyata: .....तत्रार्धधातुकसामान्य इति । द्विर्वचननिमित्तस्य लिटोऽनुपजातत्वादसति विप्रतिषेधे पूर्वं भूभावः पश्चाल्लिटि परतो द्विर्वचनमित्यदोषः ।.....

3. *Scil.* of अस्+अस्.

4. अस् is first changed to भू; subsequently लिट् is added to भू, and the latter is then reduplicated.

4, 52) have had to be substituted for the *whole* (अस्+अस्) and the (above Bhâshya on P. VII., 4, 9) would evidently be incorrect. Accordingly, the various operations, as (concerning a radical) they may be taught in a rule, must be understood to take place (after the root has been reduplicated) only in so far as (they are caused by or affect) the latter (*i. e.* radical) portion (of the reduplicated form).[1] The statement[2] that the substitution of Guṇa (for the ऊ of the Parasmai. Frequent. base बोभू before the personal termination तु) is forbidden already (by P. VII., 3, 88, and that when Pâṇini nevertheless puts down) बोभूतु (in VII., 4, 65, his doing so can have no other object than) to restrict (the absence of Guṇa to the Veda), is not contrary to the above, because P. VII., 3, 88 conveys the meaning (that Guṇa shall not be substituted for the ऊ) of a base that *ends* with भू, (and because the substitution of Guṇa for the ऊ of बोभू is therefore really forbidden by that rule).[3] As then (the above Paribhâshâ does not exist) Frequentative forms such as वध्यात् of हन् which have been given by Mâdhava and others,[4] should certainly be regarded with suspicion. More hereof elsewhere.[5]

(Other grammarians have) further (said):

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1. *E. g.* If in the formation of the Red. Perf. of अस् this root were first reduplicated, भू would by P. II., 4, 52 have to be substituted only for the second *i. e.* radical अस् of अस्+अस्, not for the whole अस्+अस्.

2. Bhairavamis'ra: ननूत्तरकाण्डादेरङ्गत्वाभावे भूसुवोस्तिङीति बोध्यगुणाभावस्य बोभूतित्यत्राप्राप्तौ दार्ढ्यतीति सूत्रे बोभूत्विति निपातनं विध्यर्थमेव भविष्यतीति तस्य नियामकत्वकथनासंगतिरत आह । भूसुवोरित्यस्येति ॥

3. Cf. Si. Kau. II., pag. 212.

4. Si. Kau. II., pag. 214.

5. अन्यत्र *i. e.* शेखरादौ. P.

'One might maintain that, if the Paribhâshâ[1] P. I., 1, 3 (इको गुणवृद्धी) were to unite (with the term वृद्धिः) in P. I., 1, 73, (such words as शाला would not be termed *vriddha* by that rule, and in that case) it would be impossible to form शालीय (from शाला by P. IV., 2, 114. The author of the Paribhâshâs) says therefore:

P. XCIII, 10: A Paribhâshâ unites with what is taught in a rule, not with that (portion of it) which (simply) states (that concerning which something is taught in the rule).[2]

1. The meaning which P. I., 1, 3 is here supposed to convey, is this: गुणवृद्धिशब्दौ यत्रोच्चार्येते तत्रैक इति पदमुपतिष्ठते. If this Paribhâshâ were to unite with the word वृद्धिः in P. I., 1, 73, the meaning of that rule would be, यस्याचामादिरिकः स्थाने वृद्धिस्तद्वृद्धम्, and as the Vriddhi vowel आ of शाला does not stand in the place of an original इक् *i. e.* इ, उ, ऋ or ऌ, शाला would not be termed *vriddha* by P. I., 1, 73. In reality however the meaning of P. I., 1, 3, is, as will be stated below, गुणवृद्धिशब्दाभ्यां गुणवृद्धी यत्र विधीयेते तत्रैक इत्युपतिष्ठते, and according to this interpretation P. I., 1, 3 cannot unite with वृद्धिः in P. I., 1, 73.

2. Accordingly P. I., 1, 3 unites *e. g.* with P. VII., 2, 114 because वृद्धि is taught in that rule and we have to explain P. VII., 2, 114, मृजेरिकः (स्थाने) वृद्धिः; but it does not unite with P. I., 1, 73 because there the word वृद्धिः forms part of that portion of the rule which tells us what shall be termed *vriddha* by it, and we cannot explain P. I., 1, 73 by इकः (स्थाने) वृद्धिर्यस्य.... Similarly, we have by P. I., 1, 49 to supply स्थाने *e. g.* in P. VI., 4, 36 (हन्तेः स्थाने जः) because that rule teaches the substitution of ज for हन्; but in P. VII., 3, 46 the word स्थाने could not have been supplied by P. I., 1, 49 but had actually to be put down in the rule, because P. VII., 3, 46 does not teach the substitution of अत् for आत् but teaches the substitution of इत् for an अत् which stands in the place of an आत् (आतः स्थाने योऽन्तस्य...); see below.

The meaning of the words (नानुवादे) is this, that a Paribhâshâ does not unite with whatever qualifies[1] that which is (simply) stated (in a rule, and) regarding which it would give certain directions (if it were to unite with it). This (Paribhâshâ) is based on the following reasoning: although Paribhâshâs which (by their nature) are auxiliary[2] to the rules (of grammar), cannot unite with that which is taught (in the latter) because this has as yet no existence, they nevertheless serve a purpose when they are made to give directions regarding that which qualifies what (is taught in a rule),[3] and there is accordingly no reason why they should be made to give directions (also) regarding that which (again) qualifies that (which qualifies what is taught in the rule).[4] Besides, the employment of the word स्थाने in the rule P. VII., 3, 46 indicates (the existence) of this (Paribhâshâ; for) in case this Paribhâshâ did not exist, the (actual employment of स्थाने in P. VII., 3, 46) would evidently be superfluous, because we should supply स्थाने already by the Paribhâshâ P. I., 1, 49.[5]

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1. *E. g.* वृद्धि: in P. I., 1, 73 is a *Vis'eshana* of such a word, as by that rule is termed *vriddha*.

2. अङ्ग = उपकारक. See above pag. 222, note 1.

3. *E. g.* इन् in P. VI., 4, 36 is a *Vis'eshana* of ञ which is taught in that rule (इन्स्थानिकौ ञ:), and accordingly we apply P. I., 1, 49 (इन्ते: स्थाने ञ:).

4. The अत् which is valid in P. VII., 3, 46 is a *Vis'eshana* of the इत् which is taught in that rule (अन्स्थानिक इत्) and we therefore apply P. I., 1, 49 (अत: स्थान इत्); but to the आत् of the same rule we cannot apply P. I., 1, 49 because आत् is a *Vis'eshana* of the *Vis'eshana* अत् (आन्स्थानिकोऽन्), and is not a *Vis'eshana* of इत्); Pâṇini was therefore obliged to say स्थाने in VII., 3, 46, आत: स्थानेऽत: [स्थाने] इत्.

5. See above note 4, and pag. 449, note 2.

This is (likewise) incorrect; for this (Paribhâshâ) would have to be abandoned in (the interpretation of rules) such as P. VIII., 2, 4,[1] and also in (the case of) P. VI., 4, 134 etc., as is apparent from the manner in which (that rule) has been explained in the Bhâshya[2] on P. VI., 1, 13; besides, it is not given in the Bhâshya; and it is moreover impossible that (the word स्थाने in P. VII, 3, 46) should, as was maintained above, indicate (the existence of this Paribhâshâ), because it has been distinctly stated in the Bhâshya on P. I., 1, 49 that we do not want the Paribhâshâ (P. I., 1, 49) to teach us that we must supply स्थाने 'in place of' (for all those Genitives concerning which P. I., 1, 49 has been given);[3] the word स्थाने however in P. VII., 3, 46

1. *Scil.* where by P. I., 1, 49 we have to supply स्थाने for यण्, although the latter is not taught in that rule (उदात्तस्य स्वरितस्य च स्थाने यो यण्...).

2. *Scil.* where the Paribhâshâ P. I., 1, 66 has been applied in regard to the अन् of P. VI., 4, 134, although the latter is a *Vis'eshana* of आत्, which again is a *Vis'eshana* of लोपः taught in VI., 4, 134.

See Bhâshya on P. VI., 1, 13: अन्कारान्तस्यालोपे प्रयोजनम् (*viz.* of Par. XCV.) | तक्ष्ण इति | तेत्यत्रापि प्राप्नोति | अनन्त्यविकारेऽन्त्यसदेशस्य कार्यं भवतीति न दोषो भवति | एतदपि नास्ति प्रयोजनम् | अनाकारं विशेषयिष्यामोऽनो योऽकार इति || एवमप्यनसानस इत्यत्रापि प्राप्नोति | अन्कारेणाङ्गं विशेषयिष्यामोऽनाकारम् | अन्कारान्तस्यानो योऽकार इति || एवमप्यनस्तक्ष्णानस्तक्ष्ण इत्यत्रापि प्राप्नोति | एवं तर्हि कार्यकालं संज्ञापरिभाषं यत्र कार्यं तल्लोपस्थितं द्रष्टव्यम् | भस्येति तल्लोपस्थितं भवति यत्र भमिति | तत्र यजादिपरतयान्कारं विशेषयिष्यामोऽनाकारम् | यजादिपरस्यानो योऽकार इति || See below Par. XCV.

3. If we do not want Paribhâshâ P. I., 1, 49 to teach us that स्थाने has to be supplied, and if that rule (in so far as it would convey that meaning) is accordingly given up, the actual employment of स्थाने in P. VII., 3, 46 can at any rate not indicate the existence of the above Paribhâshâ, because स्थाने could not have been supplied by P. I., 1, 49.—See above pag. 68, note 1.

has been employed solely for the sake of clearness.[1] And (lastly,) what has been stated in the above Paribhâshâ, follows (already) from the fact that the word विधीयते 'is taught' is supplied both in (Paribhâshâ)[2] P. I., 1, 3 and in P. I., 2, 28, for in the case of no other (Paribhâshâ besides those two) would any result accrue from the above (Paribhâshâ if it were really adopted). More hereof elsewhere.[3]

P. स्थानेति । स्थानशब्दार्थेनिरूपितसंबन्ध इत्यर्थः ॥ परीति । षष्ठी स्थान इत्यर्थः । किंत्वन्तरङ्गत्वलाभ्यः । तथा सत्यन्यार्थज्ञापनसंभवेऽपि नोक्तार्थज्ञापनसंभव इति भावः ॥

1. *Scil.* and not, to indicate that P. I., 1, 49 or the Antaranga-paribhâshâ is *anitya*.

2. See above pag. 449, note 1.

3. अन्यत्र *i. e.* उद्द्योतादौ. P.

PARIBHÂSHÂ XCIV.

One might say that there can be no reason why (when one wishes to say) *e. g.* ('he adores the gods') देव should, after नमस्करोति or नमस्यति, not receive the termination of the Dative case by P. II., 3, 16 (according to which rule नमः governs the Dative.[1] The author of the Paribhâshâs) says therefore:

P. XCIV: A case-termination, which (if it were added to a base would show that the person or thing denoted by that base) is (instrumental

1. See Bhâshya on P. III., 1, 19: नमसः क्यचि द्वितीयानुपपत्तिः । नमसः क्यचि द्वितीया नोपपद्यते । नमस्यति देवानिति । किं कारणम् । नमःशब्देन योगे चतुर्थी विधीयते सा प्राप्नोति । प्रकृत्यन्तरत्वात्सिद्धम् । नमःशब्देन योगे चतुर्थी विधीयते नमस्यतिशब्दश्चायम् । ननु च नमस्यतिशब्दे नमःशब्दोऽस्ति तेन योगे प्राप्नोति । नैष दोषः । अर्थवतो नमःशब्दस्य ग्रहणं न च नमस्यतिशब्दे नमःशब्दोऽर्थवान् ॥ अर्थवोपपदविभक्तेः कारकविभक्तिर्बलीयसीति द्वितीया विभक्तिर्भविष्यति ॥—Si. Kau. I., pag. 282.

in) bringing about the action (denoted by the verb of a sentence), possesses greater force than a case-termination (which might be added to the same base) because of the presence (in the same sentence) of a word (requiring the addition of that particular termination, and it accordingly is added in preference to the latter).[1]

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1. Accordingly देव has in नमस्यति देवान् received the termination of the Accusative case by P. II., 3, 2, because the Accusative shows that the gods are the object of the action denoted by नमस्यति ; and it has not received the termination of the Dative which case according to P. II., 3, 16 is governed by the word नमः.

Similarly, in गाः स्वामी व्रजति, गो has for the same reason received the termination of the Accusative, and not the termination of the Genitive or Locative which cases according to P. II., 3, 39 are governed by the word स्वामिन्.

[See Bhâshya on P. II., 3, 19: सहयुक्तेऽप्रधानवचनमनर्थकमुपपदविभक्तेः कारकविभक्तिर्बलीयस्त्वादन्यत्रापि । सहयुक्तेऽप्रधानवचनमनर्थकम् । किं कारणम् । उपपदविभक्तेः कारकविभक्तिर्बलीयस्त्वात् । अन्यत्राप्युपपदविभक्तेः कारकविभक्तिर्बलीयसीति प्रथमा भवति । एवमत्राप्युपपदविभक्तेः कारकविभक्तिर्बलीयसीति प्रथमा भविष्यति । क्वान्यत्र । गाः स्वामी व्रजतीति ॥

Kaiyata: सहयुक्त इति । अप्रधानवचनं प्रधाननिवृत्त्यर्थं क्रियते प्रधानस्य चान्तरङ्गत्वात्कारकविभक्तिर्भविष्यतीति नार्थस्तन्निवृत्त्यर्थेनाप्रधानवचनेनेत्यर्थः । शिष्येण सहोपाध्यायस्य गौरित्यत्रापि गवा संबन्धोऽन्तरङ्ग इत्युपाध्यायात्षष्ठ्येव भविष्यति न तृतीया ॥ गाः स्वामी व्रजतीति । अत्रापि व्रजिक्रियायां गवां कर्मत्वात्तन्निबन्धना द्वितीया स्वामीश्वरेति प्राप्ते उपपदविभक्तौ षष्ठीसप्तम्यौ बाधित्वा प्रवर्तते ॥]

In अन्तरा त्वां मां च कमण्डलुः, कमण्डलु has received the termination of the Nominative which shows that कमण्डलु is the agent of the action 'to be,' (denoted by अस्ति which has to be supplied), not the termination of the Accusative which case according to P. II., 3, 4 is governed by अन्तरा.

A[1] *Kâraka*-termination is (here) a case-termination which shows that (the person or thing denoted by the base to which it is added) is (instrumental in) bringing about an action; and as the termination of the Nomin. case likewise does show this, it too is a *Kâraka*-termination (in the sense in which that term is employed in this Paribhâshâ). This has been suggested in the Bhâshya on the rules P. II., 3, 19 etc.

This (Paribhâshâ is not based on any more general maxim[2] but) is quite an independent statement. It is this circumstance[3] which has enabled (the author of the) Bhâshya on the rule P. V., 1, 96 to hint, (and) Kaiyaṭa to state distinctly, that by this

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[See Bhâshya on P. II., 3, 4: अन्तरान्तरेणयुक्तानामप्रधानवचनम् (refuted by the present Paribhâshâ); and Kaiyaṭa: अस्तीति क्रियानुषङ्गात्कर्मण्डलोः कर्तृत्वं तच्च तिङभिहितमिति प्रथमा कारकविभक्तिः सा चान्तरङ्गा क्रियाकारकयोः संबन्धस्यान्तरङ्गत्वात् । उपपदार्थेन तु क्रियाद्वारकः संबन्ध इति तन्निमित्ता बहिरङ्गा विभक्तिः ॥]

Cf. also the Bhâshya on P. I., 4, 96 (अपि सर्पिषो विन्दुः स्यात्, where विन्दु stands by the present Par. in the Nom. case, not in the Genitive which would be governed by अपि); and Kaiyaṭa: सर्वत्रैव वाक्येऽन्वयभाव्यं क्रियया तनः सत्तया । तत्र विन्दोः प्रथमं स्यादित्यनेन संबन्धोऽन्तरङ्गः पश्चात्तु तद्वारको ऽपिशब्देन ॥. See also Bhâshya on P. II., 3, 9.

1. P.: कारकात्रिकारपठितसंज्ञानिमित्तकविभक्तित्वं कारकविभक्तित्वमिति भ्रमनिरासायाह कारकेति ॥ The term *Kâraka* of this Paribhâshâ cannot be equivalent to *Kâraka* in P. I., 4, 23 because otherwise the termination of the Nomin. case would not have been treated as a *Kâraka*-termination in the Bhâshya on P. II., 3, 19; 4; etc.; कारक is taken here simply in its etymological sense.— उपपदविभक्ति which Bhairavamis'ra explains by उपपदत्वविभक्तित्वं पदयोगनिमित्तकविभक्तित्वम्, appears to be any case-termination which is not a *Kârakavibhakti*.

2. Such as the *Antaranga*-nyâya; see above Kaiyaṭa on P. II., 3, 4; 19 etc.

3. *Viz.* that the Paribhâshâ is an independent statement and is not based *e. g.* on the *Antaranga*-nyâya.

maxim the Locative which results from P. II., 3, 36 possesses greater force than the Locative resulting from P. II., 3, 37;[1] thereby the statement,[2] that *Kâraka* is that which is connected with an action, is refuted, *viz.* because (a person or thing denoted by a base which ends with) the Locative-termination resulting from P. II., 3, 37, is likewise connected with an action.[3]

Those[4] however who maintain, that *Kâraka*-terminations possess greater force because their addition (to a base) depends on the connection (of the person or thing denoted by that base) with an action, and because the latter is more important[5] (than

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1. *I. e.* that by this Paribhâshâ तत्र in P. IV., 3, 53 is the Loc. of P. II., 3, 36, not of P. II., 3, 37. If the Paribhâshâ were based *e. g.* on the *Antaranga*-nyâya, the Bhâshya and Kaiyaṭa would be wrong because, the Loc. of P. II., 3, 36 not being *antaranga* in regard to the Loc. of P. II., 3, 37, the present Par. could not have been applied.

See Bhâshya on P. V., 1, 96: किमिदं भवान्कार्यग्रहणमेव प्रत्याचष्टे न पुनर्दीयतेग्रहणमपि । यथैव हि यन्मासे कार्यं तन्मासे भवं भवत्येवं यदपि मासे दीयते तदपि मासे भवं भवति । तत्र तत्र भवः [४.३.५३] इत्येव सिद्धम् । न सिध्यति । न तन्मासे दीयते । किं तर्हि । मासे गते । एवं तर्ह्यौपश्लेषिकमधिकरणं विज्ञास्यते ।....

Kaiyaṭa: मासे गते ॥ मासे दीयत इति नैषाधिकरणसप्तमी । किं तर्हि । यस्य च भावेनेति । तत्र भव इत्यत्र चाधिकरणसप्तम्याश्रितौपपदविभक्तेः कारकविभक्तिर्बलीयसीति न्यायादिह क्तातिदेशसामर्थ्याद्बलक्षणसप्तमीपरिग्रहः ॥ औपश्लेषिकमिति । मासेऽतिक्रान्ते यद्दीयते तस्य मास औपश्लेषिकमधिकरणमिति तत्र भव इत्यनेनैव सिद्धमित्यर्थः । कारकप्रकरणे च गौणस्यापि संज्ञा भवतीत्युक्तम् ॥

2. Of Bhaṭṭojîdikshita and others. P.

3. *Scil.* and would, contrary to the Bhâshya on P. V., 1, 96, likewise be a *Kâraka* if Bhaṭṭojîdikshita's statement were correct.

See P. तथा चोभयोरपि कारकविभक्तित्वादुक्तभाष्यासंगतिरेवेति भावः ॥

4. प्रभानन्न्यायमूलिकेयमिति सीरदेवादयुक्तिं खण्डयति । ये त्विति । सीरदेवादय इत्यर्थः । P.

5. See Kaiyaṭa on P. I., 4, 96, above pag. 454; and S'abdavyutpattikaumudi by Râjârâmas'âstrin: above pag. 389.

whatever else may be denoted by the words of a sentence), they (too) evidently come in conflict with the above (Bhâshya on P. V., 1, 96) because both (the addition of the Locative-termination resulting from P. II., 3, 36 and that resulting from P. II., 3, 37) are dependent on the connection (of the persons or things denoted by the bases to which they are added) with an action;[1] and they come in conflict also with the Bhâshya on P. III., 1, 19, where, to prevent the addition of the Dative-termination to देव, after नमस्याति etc., (the present Paribhâshâ) has been made use of.[2] Hereby (another statement) is refuted (too, *viz.* this) that,[3] 'because the relation which obtains between an action and that which is instrumental in bringing about that action, is *antaranga*,[4] a case-termination (the addition of which is) caused by such (a relation) is (likewise) *antaranga*; whereas (a case-termination the addition of which would be) caused by a relation (obtaining between that which is denoted by the base to which it is added and) that which is denoted by the word (which would require its addition), is *bahiranga*, because such a relation is always preceded by some relation or other obtaining between an action and something which is instrumental in bringing about that action';[5] for

1. *Scil.* and because the one could therefore not possess more force than the other.

2. नमःपदार्थेऽत्र देवस्य क्रियाकारकभावेनैवान्वयेन तुल्यत्वादिति भावः । P.

3. See Kaiyata above pag. 453, note 1.

4. अन्तरङ्ग इति । तद्धिना पदार्थान्तरानन्वयात् ॥ P.

5. यत्किंचिदिति । सर्वत्र संबन्धस्य किंचित्क्रियाकारकभावमूलकत्वात् । यथा स्वत्वं क्रयादिनिबन्धनमिति भावः ॥ P.— यथा राज्ञः पुरुष इत्यत्र पुरुषनिष्ठस्य राजपदार्थनिरूपितस्वस्वामिभावात्मकसंबन्धस्य क्रयणपोषणादिक्रियाकर्मभावो निमित्तं तद्वत् ॥ Bhairavamis'ra.

in the case of नमस्यति the relation obtaining (between 'the gods' and) what is denoted by the word नमः is likewise no other than 'a relation obtaining between an action and something which is instrumental in bringing about that action';[1] here namely what is denoted by the word नमः is too of the nature of an action, just as (what is denoted by) मुण्ड is of the nature of an action in मुण्डयति.[2] Besides in the Bhâshya on P. II., 3, 19 etc. the present (Paribhâshâ) has been made use of to prove that that to which the main importance attaches takes the termination of the Nominative case.[3] More[4] hereof elsewhere.

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1. *I. e.* If the Accus.-termination after देव were *antaranga*, the Dative-termination would be so likewise, and the Bhâshya on P. III., 1, 19 would be incorrect. This is explained in the following: 'here namely'..

2. Bhairavamis'ra: ननु नमःपदस्य नामत्वेन तदर्थस्याक्रियात्वात्तत्र क्रियाकारकभावसंबन्धेनान्वय इत्यननुपपन्नमित्यत आह । अत्र चेति । नमस्यतीत्यत्रेत्यर्थः ॥ मुण्डयेवेति । यथा तल णिजन्तस्य धातुत्वात्तद्घटकमुण्डशब्दार्थस्य क्रियात्वं तथा नमस्यतीत्यत्र क्यजन्तस्य धातुत्वात्तद्घटकनमःपदार्थस्य क्रियात्वमिति भावः ॥

3. Which shows that it is an independent Paribhâshâ.

4. न चैवं नमश्चकार देवेभ्यो रावणाय नमस्कुर्यादिति भट्टिप्रयोगासंगतिः । अनुकूलयितुमित्यर्थेन निर्वाहात् । नमःस्वस्ति [२.३.१६] इति चतुर्थीति जयमङ्गलोक्तिस्तु चिन्त्यैवाकृतेहेतोः । तदाह । अन्यत्रेति । उद्द्योतादावित्यर्थः ॥ P.

PARIBHÂSHÂ XCV.

One might say that, (when) *e. g.* (अच् has been added to अदस्, and when subsequently अदि has by P. VI., 3, 92 been substituted for the अस् of अदस्), मु ought (by P. VIII., 2, 80) to be substituted (not only for the द् of अदि+अच्, but) also for the

preceding (द्.[1] The author of the Paribhâshâs) says therefore:

P. XCV: When a change (which is taught in a rule) does not concern a final (letter), then (it must be understood to concern) that which immediately precedes the final.[2]

The meaning of (अन्त्यसदेशस्य) is this that, whenever (a change taught in a rule of grammar) would in one and the same form have to affect both something which immediately precedes the final letter and also something which is separated from the final (by another letter or other letters,[3] it is allowed to affect) only that which immediately precedes the final. If such were not (the meaning of अन्त्यसदेशस्य), न् and स् which (by P. VI., 1, 65 and 64) are substituted for initial (ण् and ष्) of a root, would (by the present Paribhâshâ) have to be substituted only *e. g.* in णॉ, षु etc., (where ण् and ष् immediately precede the final), but not in णम्, षिच् etc. (because the ण् and ष् of these latter roots are sepa-

1 *I. e.* अदाद्रि+अच् ought to be changed to अमुमुयच्, whereas अदमुयच् is supposed to be the correct form.

2. Accordingly मु can by P. VIII., 2, 80 be substituted only for the द्र् of अदाद्र, and not also for the द preceding it.—Others however say that मु is substituted both for द्र् and for द, and others, that it is not substituted at all. See Kârikâ on P. VIII., 2, 80:

अदसोऽद्रेः पृथङ्मुत्वं केचिदिच्छन्ति लत्वत् ।
केचिदन्त्यसदेशस्य नेत्यकेऽसौह दृश्यते ॥

Kaiyaṭa: य न सिः असिरिति सकारान्तप्रतिषेधमाश्रयन्ति नान्त्यसदेशपरिभाषां ते अमुमुयड्डुतीच्छन्ति यथा चलीकृप्यत इति रेफद्वयस्य लत्वम् । अन्त्यसदेशपरिभाषाश्रये त्वदमुयड्डुति ॥ ये तु त्यदाद्यत्वविषय एव मुत्वमिच्छन्ति तेऽदाद्यड्डुति मन्यन्ते । असेर्हीति । अः सेर्यस्य सोऽसिस्तस्येत्यर्थः ॥ .—Si. Kau. I., pag. 180.

3. In अदाद्रि+अच् मु would have to be substituted by P. VIII., 2, 80 both for द्र् and for द; but by the present Paribhâshâ it is allowed to be substituted only for द्र्.

rated from the final by another letter.) The (Locative) अनन्त्यविकारे shows (where the Paribhâshâ is applicable, *viz.* that it is applicable wherever the change taught in a rule does not concern a final letter.[1] A letter is) अनन्त्यसदेश when it stands in the same place[2] where the final stands ;[3] and such must be understood to be the case when it is not separated from the final by another letter. For this very reason (the present Paribhâshâ cannot teach us that the Samprasâraṇa which by P. VI., 1, 16 is substituted in व्यध्, is substituted only for the य् of that root, for, य् *being* separated from the final by the letter अ, the Paribhâshâ cannot be applied here; and accordingly, in enabling us) to account for forms like विद्ध etc., the rule P. VI., 1, 37 does serve a purpose.[4]

Facts such as these that *e. g.* in the Instr. Sing. of अनस्तक्षन् the first, (second, and third) अ are not elided by P. VI., 4, 134, result likewise from this (Paribhâshâ. If the latter were not applied in the case of अनस्तक्षन्, the first, second and third अ of this base would certainly have to be elided by P. VI., 4, 134;) for, as an affix postulates as its complement that portion (of the word which

1. P. The meaning of the Paribhâshâ is therefore : यत्रानन्त्यविकारस्तत्रान्त्यसदेशस्येत्युपतिष्ठते.

2. The स in सदेश is equivalent to समान, not to सह.

3. Or, in other words, when it is uttered at the same time at which the final is uttered.

4. In the Past Pass. Ptc. Samprasâraṇa has by P. VI., 1, 16 to be substituted in व्यध् ; and as व्यध् contains two letters for which Samprasâraṇa can be substituted, *viz.* व् and य्, Samprasâraṇa ought to be substituted for व् as well as for य्. Now one might say that by the present Par. Samprasâraṇa ought to be substituted only for य because it is nearest to the final; but this would be incorrect. As य् does not precede the final *immediately*, the Par. cannot be applied here, and we want the rule P. VI., 1, 37 to teach us that Samprasâraṇa is substituted only for य्, not for व्.

is called) 'the base,' the true meaning (of P. VI., 4, 134) can only be this that 'Lopa (is substituted) for the letter अ of a base ending in अन् provided (that base) be followed by any one of those (of the affixes) सु etc. that begin with य् or with a vowel (and are not *sarvanâmasthâna*.' And that *e. g.* the non-elision of the first, second, and third अ of अनस्तक्ष्णा is rightly regarded as one of the results accruing from this Paribhâshâ,) follows from the circumstance that it is simpler to employ the (Paribhâshâ) than to have repeatedly recourse to such forced interpretations as that is (according to which P. VI., 4, 134 is made to convey the meaning that 'Lopa is substituted for the अ) of an अन which forms part of a base and is immediately followed by any one of those (of the affixes) सु etc. that begin with य् or with a vowel (and are not *sarvanâmasthâna*).'[1]

And one ought not to err so far as to believe that this (Paribhâshâ) has been rejected in the Bhâshya[2] on P. VI., 1, 13 ; for although (the author of the Bhâshya on P. VI., 1, 13) has shown that those forms (the correct formation of which had by the author) of the Vârttikas been stated to result (from this Paribhâshâ) can be formed without it, if namely certain forced interpretations (of some of Pâṇini's rules) are resorted to, he nevertheless winds up with the statement that the Paribhâshâ should be adopted for the sake of those (forms which cannot be formed without it and) for which therefore it is necessary, (but) that it should not be applied whenever any wrong forms would result (from its application) ; and that, to show where it should not be applied, an Udâtta should be assigned (in the rules where it *is* appli-

1. See above pag. 451, note 2.

2. See extract from the Bhâshya on P. VI., 1, 13 below.

cable.)[1] Moreover (the Paribhâshâ must be adopted) for (the correct formation of) मिमार्जिषति (the Desid. of मृज्); when namely (मृज्) has here been reduplicated [and this must be done before Vṛiddhi is substituted (for ऋ by P. VII., 2, 114), because (the reduplication is) *antaranga*[2] (in regard to the substitution of Vṛiddhi)], and when then the various operations that concern the reduplicative syllable have taken place, (and they likewise must take place before the substitution of Vṛiddhi by P. VII., 2, 114) because (the rules VII., 4 59 etc. that teach them) follow upon (P. VII., 2, 114,—the Paribhâshâ) is necessary to prevent (the substitution of) Vṛiddhi for the letter इ of the reduplicative syllable (which would have to take place if the Paribhâshâ were not applied). Nor can one account for the formation (of मिमार्जिषति) by saying that, when Vṛiddhi has been substituted (for the इ of the reduplicative syllable, the rule P. VII., 4, 59 which teaches) the substitution of a short vowel for the vowel of a reduplicative syllable takes effect a second time; for by the maxim[3] 'that in the formation of one and the same form a rule can be applied only once' (P. VII., 4, 59) cannot be applied a second time.

The words नैतस्याः परिभाषायाः प्रयोजनानि, however, which we read

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1. P. यथा स्वरितेनाधिकारस्तथा प्रतिज्ञाप्रापितेनोदात्तेनैतत्परिभाषाप्रवृत्तिः। तथा चानन्त्यविकारेऽन्त्यसदेशस्योदात्तनिर्देश इति पाठ्यम्। तथा च न तदुक्तसकलफलानामन्यथासिद्धिः किंतु केषांचिदेवेति तदर्थमप्यावश्यकीयमिति भावः॥

Bhairavamis'ra: यथा यथासंख्येति सूत्रे स्वरितेनेत्यस्य संबन्धाद्यत्र यथासंख्यमभिप्रेतं तत्र स्वरितत्वं प्रतिज्ञातमिति कल्पना तथेहाप्यनन्त्यविकारेऽन्त्यसदेशस्योदात्तनिर्देश इति पठनीयमिति। अनन्त्यविकारश्चाश्रकशब्दश्च तत्तल्लोदात्तगुणकः पठनीय इति भावः॥

2. *Viz.* अपरनिमित्तकत्वात्, सन्यङोः in P. VI., 1, 9 being a Genitive. See above pag. 52.

3. See Par. CXI.

in the Bhâshya[1] on P. VI., 1, 37, have this meaning: 'The objects for which this rule (P. VI., 1, 37) has been given, are not the objects of this Paribhâshâ, because the semivowels य् etc. in व्यच् etc. do not immediately precede the final.' In some books we find the different reading नैतान्येतस्याः प्रयोजनानि (which admit of no other interpretation but the one just given).

This (Paribhâshâ is established neither by a Jnâpaka nor by a Nyâya but) is an independent statement; and it is found in the Bhâshya on the rule P. VI., 1, 13,[2] and on the rule P. VIII., 2, 80 (in which latter passage it is quoted in the words of the Kârikâ)[3] केचिदन्यसदेशस्य. More elsewhere.[4]

1. See Bhâshya on P. VI., 1, 37: एवं तर्ह्यनन्त्यविकारेऽन्त्यसदेशस्येति। अन्त्यसदेशो यो यण् तस्य कार्यं भविष्यति। नैतस्याः परिभाषायाः प्रयोजनानि ॥

2. Also on P. I., 1, 3.

3. See above pag 458, note 2.

4. अन्यत्र *i. e.* भाष्यादौ. P.

Extract from the Bhâshya[1] on P. VI., 1, 13:

व्यङन्ते यावन्तो यणस्तेषां सर्वेषां संप्रसारणं प्राप्नोति। वाराहीपुत्रः। तार्णकर्णीपुत्रः। तत्राप्रत्ययस्थस्य प्रतिषेधः। तत्राप्रत्ययस्थस्य प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः। यथागृहीतस्यादेशवचनादप्रत्ययस्थे सिद्धम्। निर्दिश्यमानस्यादेशा भवन्तीत्येवमप्रत्ययस्थस्य न भविष्यति ॥ अनन्त्यविकारेऽन्त्यसदेशस्य वा। अथवानन्त्यविकारेऽन्त्यसदेशस्य कार्यं भवतीत्येषा परिभाषा कर्तव्या। कः पुनरत्र विशेष एषा वा परिभाषा क्रियेताप्रत्ययस्थस्य वा प्रतिषेध उच्येत। अवश्यमेषा परिभाषा कर्तव्या। बहून्येतस्याः परिभाषायाः प्रयोजनानि। कानि। प्रयोजनं न संप्रसारणे संप्रसारणम्। न संप्रसारणे

1. Kaiyata: हंसशिरांसीति। अनुस्वारस्यासिद्धत्वाद्धकारकारस्य दीर्घप्रसङ्गः ॥

संप्रसारणम् [६.१.३७] इत्येतन्न वक्तव्यं भवति । कथं व्यधेर्विद्ध इति । अनन्त्यविकारेऽन्त्यसदेशस्य कार्यं भवतीति न दोषो भवति । नैतदस्ति प्रयोजनम् । क्रियते न्यास एव ॥ सान्तमहतो दीर्घत्वे प्रयोजनम् । पयांसि यशांसि । पय इत्यस्यापि प्राप्नोति । अनन्त्यविकारेऽन्त्यसदेशस्य कार्यं भवतीति न दोषो भवति । एतदपि नास्ति प्रयोजनम् । नोपधायाः [६.४.७] इति तत्र वर्तते । एवमप्यनांसि मनांसीत्यत्रापि प्राप्नोति । सान्तसंयोगेन नोपधां विशेषयिष्यामः । सान्तसंयोगस्य नोपधाया इति । एवमपि हंसशिरांसि ध्वंसशिरांसि अत्रापि प्राप्नोति । नैष दोषः । हम्मतेर्हंसः । कः पुनराह हम्मतेर्हंस इति । किं तर्हि । हन्तेर्हंसो हन्त्यध्वानमिति । एवं तर्हि सर्वनामस्थान इति वर्तते । सर्वनामस्थानपरतया सान्तसंयोगं विशेषयिष्यामः सान्तसंयोगेन नोपधां विशेषयिष्यामः । सर्वनामस्थानपरस्य सान्तसंयोगस्य नोपधाया इति ॥ अन्कारान्तस्याल्लोपे प्रयोजनम् । See above pag. 451, note 2. योऽकार इति ॥ मृजेर्वृद्धिविधौ प्रयोजनम् । न्यमार्ट् । अटोऽपि वृद्धिः प्राप्नोति । अनन्त्यविकारेऽन्त्यसदेशस्य कार्यं भवतीति न दोषो भवति । एतदपि नास्ति प्रयोजनम् । यथापरिभाषितमिको गुणवृद्धी इतीक एव वृद्धिर्भविष्यति । एवमपि मिमार्जिषतीत्यत्र प्राप्नोति । अस्तु । अभ्यासनिर्मितेन इस्वो भविष्यति ॥ वसोः संप्रसारणे । वसोः संप्रसारणे च प्रयोजनम् । विदुषः पश्य । विदिवकारस्यापि प्राप्नोति । अनन्त्यविकारेऽन्त्यसदेशस्येति न दोषो भवति । एतदपि नास्ति प्रयोजनम् । न संप्रसारणे संप्रसारणमिति प्रतिषेधो भविष्यति । इद्कारेण व्यवहितत्वान्न प्राप्नोति । एवं तर्हि निर्दिश्यमानस्यादेशा भवन्तीति न भविष्यति ॥ युवादीनां च संप्रसारणे प्रयोजनम् । यूनः पश्य यूना यूने । यकारस्यापि प्राप्नोति । अनन्त्य-

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हन्तेरिति । वृतृवदिहनि [उण° ३.६२] इति लक्षणसद्भावात् ॥ हन्तीति । गच्छतीत्यर्थः ॥ यथापरिभाषितमिति । परिभाषितानतिक्रमेणेत्यर्थः ॥ अविभरिति । डुभृञो लङ्लिटोर-

विकारेऽन्त्यसदेशस्येति न दोषो भवति । एतदपि नास्ति प्रयोजनम् । न संप्रसारणे संप्रसारणमिति न भविष्यति । उकारेण व्यवहितत्वान्न प्राप्नोति । एकादेशे कृते नास्ति व्यवधानम् । एकादेशः पूर्वविधौ स्थानिवद्भवतीति स्थानिवद्भावाद्व्यवधानमेव । एवं तर्हि समानाङ्ग्रहणं तत्र चोदयिष्यति ॥ र्वोरुपधाग्रहणं च । र्वोरुपधाग्रहणं न कर्तव्यं भवति । र्वोरुपधाया दीर्घ इकः [८.२.७६] इति । इह कस्मान्न भवति । अबिभर्भवान् । अनन्त्यविकारेऽन्त्यसदेशस्येति न दोषो भवति । एतदपि नास्ति प्रयोजनम् । क्रियते न्यास एव ॥ आदित्यदादिविधिसंयोगादिलोपकुत्वढत्वभष्भावषत्वणत्वेष्वतिप्रसङ्गः । आदिविधावतिप्रसङ्गो भवति । धात्वादेः षः सः [६.१.६४] णो नः [६५] । इहैव स्यात् । नेता सेता । इह न स्यात् । नमति सिञ्चतीति ॥ त्यदादिविधिः । इहैव स्यात् । तद् सः । त्यद् स्य इत्यत्र न स्यात् ॥ संयोगादिलोपः । इहैव स्यात् । मङ्क्ता । मङ्क्तव्यमित्यत्र न स्यात् ॥ कुत्वम् । इहैव स्यात् । पक्ता । पक्तव्यमित्यत्र न स्यात् ॥ ढत्वम् । इहैव स्यात् । लेढा । लेढव्यमित्यत्र न स्यात् ॥ भष्भावः । इहैव स्यात् । अभुत्सि । अभुत्सातामित्यत्र न स्यात् ॥ षत्वम् । इहैव स्यात् । द्रष्टा । द्रष्टव्यामित्यत्र न स्यात् ॥ णत्वम् । इहैव स्यात् । माषवापेण । माषवापाणामित्यत्र न स्यात् ॥ एते दोषाः समा भूयांसो वा । तस्मान्नार्थोऽनया परिभाषया । न हि दोषाः सन्तीति परिभाषा न वक्तव्या लक्षणं वा न प्रणेयं न हि भिक्षुकाः सन्तीति स्थाल्यो नाधिश्रीयन्ते न च मृगाः सन्तीति यवा नोप्यन्ते । दोषाः खल्वपि साकल्येन परिगणिताः प्रयोजनानामुदाहरणमात्रम् । कुत एतत् । न हि दोषाणां लक्षणमस्ति । तस्माद्यान्येतस्याः परिभाषायाः प्रयोजनानि तदर्थमेषा

न्यतरः शप्श्लुः द्विर्वचनम् । भृञामित् [७.४.७६] इतीत्वम् ॥ सोतेति । धात्वन्त्यसदेशस्यैव सत्वनत्वप्रसङ्गः ॥ स्य इत्यतेति । तदोः सः सावनन्त्ययोः [७.२.१०६] इति सस्य तकारस्यान्त्यसदेशत्वाभावान्न प्राप्नोति ॥ मङ्क्तव्यमिति । पदान्त्यसदेशत्वाभावात्संयोगादिलोपाप्रसङ्गः ॥ माषवापाणामिति । विभक्तिस्थस्य नकारस्य पदान्त्यसदेशत्वाभावाण्णत्वाप्रसङ्गः ॥

परिभाषा कर्तव्या प्रतिविधेयं दोषेषु ॥ इदं प्रतिविधीयत **उदात्तनिर्देशा**-स्सिद्धम् । यत्रैषा परिभाषेष्यते तत्रोदात्तनिर्देशः कर्तव्यः । ततो वक्तव्य-मनन्त्यविकारेऽन्त्यसदेशस्य कार्यं भवत्युदात्तनिर्देश इति । स तर्ह्युदात्त-निर्देशः कर्तव्यः । **न कर्तव्यः** । **यत्रैवान्त्यसदेशश्चानन्त्यसदेशश्च** युगपत्समवस्थितौ तत्रैषा परिभाषा भवति दोषेषु चान्यत्रान्त्यसदेशो ऽन्यत्रानन्त्यसदेशः प्रयोजनेषु पुनस्तत्रैवान्त्यसदेशश्चानन्त्यसदेशश्च । तथाजातीयकानि खल्वप्याचार्येण प्रयोजनानि पठितानि यान्युभयवन्ति भवन्ति । **इदमेकं** यथा दोषास्तथा **वोरुपधाग्रहणमिति** अविभर्भवान् तच्चापि क्रियते न्यास एव ॥

उदात्तनिर्देशादिति । यथा स्वरितेनाधिकार एवमुदात्तेनेषा परिभाषेत्यर्थः ॥ न कर्तव्य इति । सर्वत्रापि परिभाषोपस्थाने दोषाभावात् ॥ यत्रेवेति । विधिनिषेधयोरेकविषयत्वाश्रयणात् ॥ इदमेकमिति । अविभरित्यत्रान्त्यसदेशस्येकोऽसंभवादनन्त्यसदेशस्येकः प्राप्नोति दीर्घ उपधा-ग्रहणेन निवर्त्यते ॥

PARIBHÂSHÂ XCVI.

P. VI., 1, 98 teaches that when the imitative name of an inarticulate sound ending in अत् is followed by इति, the initial इ of इति is substituted for अत् and the इ by which it is followed. Now one might say that, when this rule is applied *e. g.* in the case of पटत्+इति, (इ would) by P. I., 1, 52 have to be substituted for the *final* (of पटत् and the initial इ of इति, in other words, that the result of the combination ought to be पटेति and not) पटिति. (The author of the Paribhâshâs) says therefore :

P. XCVI: The rule P. I., 1, 52, by which a substitute should take the place of only the final letter (of

that which is exhibited in the Genitive case), is not (valid) where (what is exhibited in the Genitive) is meaningless, provided (the rule teaching the substitution) does not teach a change in a reduplicative syllable.[1]

In consequence of the expression अनभ्यासविकारे 'provided (the rule teaching the substitution) does not teach a change in a reduplicative syllable,' the इ *e. g.* (the substitution of which is taught) in P. VII., 4, 76, has in विभर्ति etc. (taken the place) of only the final (of and not of the whole of the reduplicative syllable of भृ etc.). Elsewhere[2] it has been shown that a reduplicative syllable is meaningless because the meaning (of the root) is not repeated (when the latter is reduplicated), and that only that portion (of a reduplicated form) which follows (the reduplicative syllable, *i. e.* the radical portion of it,) conveys a meaning. This (Paribhâshâ) is found in the Bhâshya[3] on P. I., 1, 65, and has there been rejected too, on the ground that whatever is supposed to result from it, can be accounted for otherwise; this may be ascertained from the (Bhâshya) itself.

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1. अभ्यासविषयभिन्नानर्थके स न. P.—Accordingly, पटत्+इति becomes पटिति. Similarly, the Lopa taught in P. VI., 4, 119 is substituted for the *whole* Redupl. syllable; the Lopa taught in P. VII., 2, 113 is substituted for the *whole* इद्; the Lopa taught in P. VII., 4, 58 is substituted for the *whole* Redupl. syllable.—Si. Kau. I., pag. 153.

2. अन्यत्र *i. e.* शेखरादौ. P.

3. Ed. Ballantyne pag. 732. See also Bhâshya on P. VI., 4, 123: अनर्थके ऽलोऽन्त्यविधिर्नित्येवं न प्राप्नोति। नैतस्याः सन्ति परिभाषायाः प्रयोजनानि ॥

PARIBHÂSHÂ XCVII.

One might maintain that in (stead of) *e. g.* ब्राह्मणवत्सा च ब्राह्मणीवत्सश्च one ought (to be allowed) to employ by P. I., 2, 67 simply the one (masculine form ब्राह्मणवत्सौ),[1] because (ब्राह्मणवत्सा and ब्राह्मणीवत्स) differ in nothing except this that one is feminine and the other masculine. To refute this (the author of the Paribhâshâs) says:

P. XCVII: When of two things one is more important than the other, an operation (which is applicable to both) is understood to have reference only to that which is more important.[2]

Accordingly (we are) not (by P. I., 2, 67) allowed (to say ब्राह्मणवत्सौ instead of ब्राह्मणवत्सा च ब्राह्मणीवत्सश्च), because (ब्राह्मणवत्सा and ब्राह्मणीवत्स) differ not only in this that the more important (word वत्स) is feminine in the one and masculine in the other, but differ besides also in this that the less important (word ब्राह्मण) is (likewise) feminine in the one and masculine in the other.[3] This (Paribhâshâ is made use of) in the Bhâshya on P. I., 2,

1. Just as one by P. I., 2, 67 may say ब्राह्मणश्च ब्राह्मणी च = ब्राह्मणौ, or वत्सश्च वत्सा च = वत्सौ.

2. This Paribhâshâ is *Lokanyâya-siddhâ*; see Kaiyaṭa on P. I., 2, 69 below; and especially the Bhâshya on P. III., 1, 1 which is not quoted by Nâgojibhaṭṭa: प्रधाने कार्यसंप्रत्ययाद्वा सिद्धम्....तद्यथा बहुषु यात्सु कश्चित्कंचित्पृच्छति कौ यातीति स आह राजेति राजेत्युक्ते प्रधाने कार्यसंप्रत्ययाद्यः पृच्छति यश्च कथयत्युभयोः संप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

3. See Bhâshya on P. I., 2, 67:.... एवं च कृत्वेहापि प्राप्तिः । ब्राह्मणवत्सा च ब्राह्मणीवत्सश्चेति । एवं तर्हीदमिह व्यपदेश्यं सदाचार्यो न व्यपदिशति । किम् । तदित्यनुवर्तते । तदित्यनेन प्रकृतौ स्त्रीपुंसौ प्रतिनिर्दिश्येते । कौ च प्रकृतौ । प्रधाने । प्रधानं या शब्दस्त्री प्रधानं यार्थस्त्रीति ॥

Kaiyaṭa: एवं तर्हीति । विस्पष्टं न व्यपदिशतीत्यर्थः ॥ सूत्रोपात्त एवायमर्थो येनात्र न

67 and on[1] P. I., 2, 69. From the Bhâshya and Kaiyaṭa's (commentary) on P. III., 1, 26 it appears that that which is more important possesses greater force even than something else which is *antaranga* (in regard to it), or something else on which its own existence is dependent.[2]

भवत्येकशेष इत्याह तदित्यनेनेति ॥ स्त्रीपुंसयोः सहविवक्षायामेकशेषः स च प्रधानयोरेव भवतीति यत्र प्रधानस्त्रीपुंसकृतो विशेषस्तत्रैकशेषः । इहाप्रधानकृतोऽपीत्येकशेषाभावः ॥

1. See Bhâshya on P. I., 2, 69: अयं योगः शक्योऽवक्तुम् । कथं शुक्लश्च कम्बलः शुक्लं च वस्त्रं तदिदं शुक्लं ते इमे शुक्ले शुक्लश्च कम्बलः शुक्ला च बृहतिका शुक्लं च वस्त्रं तदिदं शुक्लं तानीमानि शुक्लानि । प्रधाने कार्यसंप्रत्ययाच्छेषः । प्रधाने कार्यसंप्रत्ययाच्छेषो भविष्यति । किं च प्रधानम् । नपुंसकम् । कथं पुनर्ज्ञायते नपुंसकं प्रधानमिति । एवं हि दृश्यते लोके । अनिर्ज्ञातिऽर्थे गुणसंद्देहे च नपुंसकलिङ्गं प्रयुज्यते । किं जातमित्युच्यते द्वयं चैव हि जायते स्त्री वा पुमान्वा । तथा विदूरेऽव्यक्तरूपं दृष्ट्वा वक्तारो भवन्ति महिषीरूपमिव ब्राह्मणीरूपमिव । प्रधाने कार्यसंप्रत्ययान्नपुंसकस्य शेषो भविष्यति ॥ इदं तर्हि प्रयोजनम् । एकवचनस्यान्यतरस्यामिति वक्ष्यामीति । एतदपि नास्ति प्रयोजनम् । आकृतिवाचित्वादेकवचनम् । आकृतिवाचित्वादेकवचनं भविष्यति । यदा द्रव्याभिधानं तदा द्विवचनबहुवचने भविष्यतः ॥

Extract from Kaiyaṭa: प्रधाने कार्यसंप्रत्ययादिति । शब्देनार्थस्याभिधानमिह कार्यम् । तच्च नपुंसकानपुंसकसंनिधौ नपुंसकस्यैव भविष्यतीति नार्थः सूत्रेणेत्यर्थः ॥ कथमिति । यथा लोके बहुषु गच्छत्सु राजा गच्छतीति प्रधानं राजा व्यपदिश्यते । राज्ञश्च प्राधान्यं तदधीनप्रवृत्तिनिवृत्तित्वादन्येषाम् । इह तु नपुंसकस्य किंकृतं प्राधान्यमिति प्रश्नः ॥

2. In the case of a Causal like पाचि 'to cause to cook' the action of 'cooking' is *antaranga* in regard to the 'causing to cook' and it is also *upajîvya* because the '*causing* to cook' cannot exist independently of the 'cooking'; but as the 'causing' is here *pradhâna i. e.* of more importance than the cooking, only he who *causes* to cook should be termed कर्तृ, whereas he who cooks, being less important, would, in reference to him who causes to cook, have to be termed कर्मन्, had Pâṇini not given the restrictive rule I., 4, 52.

See Bhâshya on P. III., 1, 26:.... अस्तु तर्हि प्रत्ययार्थविशेषणम् । यदि प्रत्ययार्थविशेषणं पाचयत्योदनं देवदत्तो यज्ञदत्तेनेति प्रयोक्ष्ये कर्तरि कर्मसंज्ञा प्राप्नोति । भवति हि तस्य तस्मिन्प्रीप्सा ॥ ..... नैष दोषः । यत्तावदुच्यते पाचयति•• प्राप्नोतीति

गतिबुद्धि [१.४.५२] इत्येतन्नियमार्थं भविष्यति । एतेषामेवाण्यन्तानां यः कर्ता स णौ कर्मसंज्ञो भवति नान्येषामिति ॥

Kaiyaṭa: भवति हीति । ण्यर्थस्य प्राधान्यात्तद्व्यापारेणेप्सिततमत्वात्प्रयोज्यस्येत्यर्थः । प्रकृत्यर्थविशेषणत्वे तु द्वयोरपि प्रयोज्यप्रयोजकव्यापारयोरेकधातुवाच्यत्वाद्धातुवाच्यव्यापारापेक्षया द्वयोरपि कर्तृत्वाक्लेनाभिधानं प्राप्नोतीति दोष उक्तः ॥ ... एतेषामेवेति । ण्यर्थस्य प्राधान्यात्तेनेप्सिततमस्य प्रयोज्यस्य सिद्धा कर्मसंज्ञा । न च स्वव्यापारापेक्षया स्वातन्त्र्यान्यरत्वात्कर्तृसंज्ञा प्राप्नोतीति वक्तुं युक्तम् । प्रयोज्यव्यापारस्याप्राधान्यात्प्रधानाप्रधानव्यापारसंनिधौ च प्रधाननिमित्तस्य कार्यस्य युक्तत्वात् । नियमेन तु प्रधानप्रयुक्तकार्यव्यावृत्तौ गुणनिमित्तकार्यसद्भावात्कर्तृत्वं भवत्येव । तदुक्तं हरिणा ।

गुणक्रियायां स्वातन्त्र्यात्प्रेषणे कर्मतां गतः ।
नियमात्कर्मसंज्ञायाः स्वातन्त्र्येणाभिधीयते ॥ इति ।

Cf. also Si. Kau. I., pag. 256, note 40.

PARIBHÂSHÂ XCVIII.

One might say that the prohibition (of the addition) to the word मातृ of (the feminine affix) ङीष् which results from the fact that (मातृ) is one of (the words) स्वसृ etc. (in P., IV., 1, 10), ought to extend also to the word मातृ denoting 'a measurer'. (The author of the Paribhâshâs) says therefore :

P. XCVIII : The (conventional) meaning which a word conveys when taken as a whole, is stronger than the (etymological) meaning derived from (a division of the word into) its parts.

Accordingly the word (मातृ referred to in P. IV., 1, 10) can only be the purely conventional (term मातृ) denoting 'a mother', not (the word मातृ) denoting 'a measurer.' The purely conventional meaning (of a word), which has no connection with the

etymological meaning[1] (of the latter), prevents, because it presents itself (first to our minds), our taking (that word) in its etymological sense ;[2] (and) such being the case, it is solely the (circumstance that the one meaning is, and that the other meaning is not, derived from) etymology, which gives rise to the present (Paribhâshâ). What[3] we have stated here, is established by the maxim according to which in the chapter treating of the *Rathakâra* (this word does not denote 'a chariot-maker,' but denotes a member of a particular mixed caste *viz.* the son of a Karaṇî by a Mâhishya).[4]

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1. P. शुद्धेत्यस्य व्याख्या तदनेति । यौगमिश्रेत्यर्थः । यद्वा यत्तदनालिङ्गितत्वमतः शुद्धत्वमित्यर्थः । तथा च यौगिकरूढस्थले ऽयं प्रतिबन्ध्यप्रतिबन्धकभावो न यौगरूढस्थल इति बोध्यम् ॥

Words are divided into four classes; *yaugika, e. g.* पाचक 'cooking'; *rûdha, e. g.* गो 'a cow'; *yogarûdha, e. g.* पङ्कज 'a lotus' so called because 'it grows in pools'; and *yaugikarûdha i. e.* words which convey both an etymological and a conventional meaning, both being however independent of each other; *e. g.* उद्भिद् which means 'sprouting' and denotes also a particular sacrifice. (See Muktâvali, Ed. Roer, pag. 83). This Paribhâshâ has reference only to words of the last class.

2. *Viz.* unless there are particular reasons to the contrary.

3. अयमर्थः *i. e.* अयं प्रतिबन्ध्यप्रतिबन्धकभावः. P.

4. Chitprabhâ: रथकाराधिकरणेति । तत्र हि षष्ठस्य प्रथमे द्वादशाधिकरण आधानप्रकरणे वर्षासु रथकार आदधीतेति श्रुतं वाक्यं विषयीकृत्य तत्र रथकारो रथं करोतीति व्युत्पत्त्या कश्चित्त्रैवर्णिको ग्राह्य उत कश्चित्संकीर्णजातिविशेष इति विचारे प्रसक्ते तत्र प्रथमस्यैव ग्रहणं त्रैवर्णिकस्योपनीतत्वेन विद्याधिकारादाधाने ऽप्यधिकारसंभवात्संकीर्णजातिविशेषस्य त्वनुपनीतत्वेन विद्याधिकाराभावादाधानासंभवः । न च तस्य संकीर्णजातिविशेषे रूढौ मानाभावः । माहिष्येण करण्यां तु रथकारः प्रजायत इति याज्ञवल्क्योक्तेस्तत्र प्रमाणत्वात् ॥ तथा हि वैश्यायां क्षत्रियादुत्पन्नो माहिष्यः शूद्रायां वैश्यादुत्पन्ना करणी तस्यां करण्यां माहिष्यादुत्पन्नो रथकारः । तस्मान्नास्ति रथकारस्याधाने ऽधिकार इति प्राप्ते । योगादूढेर्बलीयस्त्वात्संकीर्णजातिविशेष एव रथकारो ग्राह्यः । न च तस्यानुपनीतत्वेन विद्यासद्भावात्कथमा-

One (scholar)[1] however maintains that by the present Paribhâshâ (दीधीवेवीटाम्) in P. I., 1, 6 denotes only (two roots, *viz.*) दीधी and वेवी, not (the four roots) दी, धी, वे, and वी; others[2] say, that (for) this (the Paribhâshâ) would not have been (necessary because), had (Pâṇini) intended (to denote) those (four roots दी, धी etc.), he would (to prevent all doubts) have said दीवेधीवीटाम् (instead of saying, as he does, दीधीवेवीटाम्).[3]

ज्ञानमिति वाच्यम्। तथा सत्येनद्विधिसामर्थ्यादेव वषट्नुषु तस्याज्ञानकल्पनादिति सिद्धान्तः। तथा चैतदधिकरणन्यायसिद्धोऽयमर्थोऽयत्नप्रसिद्धेरिति सिद्धम्॥

1. *Viz.* Siradeva who, as appears from the manner in which he applies the Paribhâshâ, ascribes to it a different meaning.

2. अन्ये, *i. e.* न्यासकृदादयः. P.

3. Others say that the Paribhâshâ is unnecessary so far as regards मातृ in P. IV., 1, 10, because that term can, on account of its proximity to स्वसृ, already by Par. CIII. denote only the word मातृ 'mother.' (See note 37 on Si. Kau. I., pag. 138). Pâyagunda, referring to this, states that in such a case पाण्डुकम्बल in P. IV., 2, 11 would offer an instance for the present Paribhâshâ.

PARIBHÂSHÂ XCIX.

One might say that as (the substitution of) अव (for the औ of गौ which has taken place) in गवाक्ष, meaning 'a window,' is (by P. VI., 1, 123) optional, one should (be allowed to) form also गोक्ष etc.[1] (in the same sense). (The author of the Paribhâshâs) says therefore:

P. XCIX: Occasionally operations which are stated to be optional, are not optional in the formation

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1. The आदि 'etc.' includes गोभक्ष.

of one and the same form, but must in particular instances necessarily take place, while in others they are not allowed to take place.[1]

(An optional operation) must be regarded to be (always optional) or (optional only in particular instances), according as the various forms (which have to be formed, or the formation of which has to be accounted for, by the rules of Pâṇini's grammar,) require (either one or the other. The Paribhâshâ) is found in the Bhâshya[2] on the rule P. VII., 4, 41 and on P.

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1. व्येति । विशिष्टविषयेऽवस्थितया विभाषया विकल्पेनेत्यर्थः । अपिः सार्वत्रिकाव्यवस्थितविभाषासमुच्चायकः । क्रियन्त इति कृचिदिति शेषः ॥. P.—In गो+अक्ष अव is accordingly by P. VI., 1, 123 necessarily substituted for the ओ of गो.

See Chitprabhâ: तेन गवाक्ष इत्यत्र वातायने नित्यमवङ् । प्राण्यङ्गे तु गोक्षीत्यत्र न भवति । अन्यत्र तु सर्वत्र विकल्पः ॥ For other examples see below.

2. See Bhâshya on P. VII., 4, 41: इयतेरित्वं व्रते नित्यम् । इयतेरित्वं व्रते नित्यमिति वक्तव्यम् । संशितं व्रतम् । तत्तर्हि वक्तव्यम् । न वक्तव्यम् ।

देवलातो गलो ग्राह इतियोगे च सद्विधिः ।
मिथस्ते न विभाष्यन्ते गवाक्षः संशितव्रतः ॥

Kaiyaṭa: इयतेरिति । व्रत इति विषयो निर्दिश्यते न तूत्तरपदं तेन संशितो ब्राह्मण इत्यत्रापि नित्यमित्वं भवति । यद्येवमित्वेन व्रतस्य द्योतितत्वात्संशितव्रत इति व्रतशब्दस्य प्रयोगो न प्राप्नोति । नैष दोषः । अन्यत्रापीत्वविधानात्संशितशब्दः सामान्यशब्द इति विशेषप्रतिपादनायाविरुद्धो व्रतशब्दप्रयोगः । व्रते तु नित्यमित्वं विधीयते ॥ न वक्तव्यमिति । साधारणेन न्यायेन सिद्धत्वात् । अत एव तुल्यधर्मणः शब्दानुपन्यस्यति ॥ देवलात इति । नुदविदोन्दत्रा [८.२.५६] इति नत्वं संज्ञायां न भवति । देवग्रहणं संज्ञाविषयोपलक्षणार्थं तेन भवलात इत्यादावपि संज्ञात्वान्नत्वाभावः । यदा तु क्रियाशब्दत्वाणं लात इति तदा नत्वविकल्पः ॥ गल इति । अचि विभाषा [८.२.२१.] इति लत्वं प्राण्यङ्गे नित्यं भवति विषे तु गर इति लत्वाभावः क्रियाशब्दे तूभयं भवति गरो गल इति ॥ ग्राह इति । विभाषा ग्रहः [३.१.१४३] इति णप्रत्ययो जलचरे नित्यं भवति ड्योतिषि पचाद्यच् । ग्रह इति ॥ इतियोग इति । लक्षणहेत्वोः क्रियायाः [३.२.१२६] इति शतृशानाडिभिर्हेत्वादिः

, III., 2, 124 etc.[1]

पलायने वर्षतीति धावतीत्यादाविति प्रयोगे न भवति ॥ मिथ इति । एकस्मिन्विषये न विकल्पेन किंतु विषयभेदेन । एतच्चाकृतिपक्ष उपपद्यते । तत्र हि सर्वं लक्ष्यमेकध्यमापाद्योभयमुपदिश्यते ततश्चोभयं भवतीत्येतावतैव लक्षणस्य व्यापारः । असंकीर्णत्वं तु प्रयोगवशात्प्रतीयते ॥ गवाक्ष इति । अवङ् स्फोटायनस्य [६.१.१२३] इति नित्यमवङ् भवति प्राग्ग्रहे तु गोरक्षि गोक्षीति भवत्यन्यत्र तु विकल्पेन ॥ एतच्चोदाहरणं न तु व्यवस्थितविभाषाणां परिगणनमन्यासामपि संभवात् ॥

1. Chitprabhâ : अत्रादिशब्दादजेर्व्यघञपोः [२.४.५६] इत्यादिसूत्रस्थं भाष्यं ग्राह्यम् ॥ —Cf. also Si. Kau. II., pag. 273 ; 348 ; 367 etc.

1. सर्वं लक्ष्यमेकध्यमापाद्य in the above is the reading of my own MS. which is supported by Nâgojibhaṭṭa's gloss on Kaiyaṭa's words : ऐकध्यम् । एकरूपत्वम् । बुद्ध्या युगपदभिसमीक्ष्येत्यर्थः । The lithographed Edition of the Mahâbhâshya reads सर्वं लक्ष्यमेकविध्यमापाद्य.

PARIBHÂSHÂ C.

P. C : When (there arises the question as to whether) a rule enjoins something (new), or contains (merely) a restriction (regarding something which is enjoined in another rule), either being possible, (such a rule should be considered) to enjoin something (new) in preference to (being regarded a restrictive rule).[1]

1. *E. g.* When य in P. VI., 4, 49 is taken to denote $y+a$, the question arises whether P. VI,. 4, 49 enjoins the elision of $y+a$ which has not been taught before, or restricts, so far as य is concerned, the elision of a taught already in P. VI., 4, 48 to instances in which य is preceded by a consonant ; by the present Paribhâshâ this question has to be answered in favour of the former alternative. See below.

Such[1] should be understood to be the case because (a rule which enjoins something new) is less cumbrous (than a restrictive rule); for, as regards a restrictive rule, its very nature obliges us to assume, although this is not actually stated, that what is taught in it, does beyond (the particular cases to which it is restricted) *not* take place; and besides (a restrictive rule is liable to) the objection that it states something which has already been stated (elsewhere).[2] This (Paribhâshâ) is found (applied) in the Bhâshya[3] on P. VI., 4, 49.

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1. नियमे हीति । यतस्तत्रेत्यर्थः ॥ परिसंख्यापक्ष शास्त्रे नियमपदेन गृह्यत इति न न्यूनता ॥ नियमशास्त्राणां विधिमुखेनैव प्रवृत्तेः सिद्धान्तितत्वादाह सामर्थ्यादिति ॥ चेन प्राप्तबाधसमुच्चयः । तथा च दोषत्रयम् ॥. P.

2. *E. g.* P. VII., 1, 67 which is a restrictive rule teaches that लभ् before खल् and घञ् receives नुम् only then when it is preceded by a preposition; from this it follows that before खल् and घञ् it does *not* receive नुम् when it is *not* preceded by a preposition; and, moreover the addition of नुम् which is taught in VII., 1, 67, has been taught already in P. VII., 1, 64.

3. See Bhâshya on P. VI., 4, 49: अस्तु तर्हि संघातग्रहणम् (*i. e.* य = य् + अ) । यदि संघातग्रहणमन्त्यस्य लोपः प्राप्नोति । सिद्धोऽन्त्यस्य पूर्वेणैव तलारम्भसामर्थ्यात्सर्वस्य भविष्यति । एवमपि तेनातिप्रसक्तमिति कृत्वा नियमो विज्ञास्यते यस्य हल एव नान्यतः । क्व मा भूत् । लोलूयिता पोपूयिता । कैमर्थक्यान्नियमो भवति । विधेयं नास्तीति कृत्वा । इह चास्ति विधेयम् । किम् । अन्त्यस्य लोपः प्राप्तः सर्वस्य विधेयः । तलापूर्वो विधिरस्तु नियमो वेति । अपूर्व एव विधिर्भविष्यति न नियमः ॥

Similarly in the Bhâshya on P. VIII., 4, 32, where Kaiyaṭa remarks: नियमे प्राप्तबाधः सिद्धस्य पुनरुपादानादनुवाददोषश्च । विधौ तु न प्राप्तबाधो नाप्यनुवाददोष इति विधिनियमसंभवे विधिरेव ज्यायानिति भावः ॥

Paribhâshâ CI.

P. III., 3, 132 (teaches that to denote a wish the same affixes may be added to a root which would be added to it to denote

past time); now one might say that, as by that (rule the affix) लुङ् (of P. III., 2, 110) may be added (to a root to denote a wish) just as (it would be added to denote past time), so should also (the affixes) लङ् and लिट् (of P. III., 2, 111 and 115) be added by it (for the same purpose, because they likewise denote past time.[1] The author of the Paribhâshâs) says therefore:

P. CI: When (operations dependent on the) general properties (of one thing) are transferred (to something else, operations dependent on) special properties (of the former) are not (thereby) transferred (to the latter).[2]

What gives rise to this (Paribhâshâ) is the fact that at the time when a thing presents itself to us with its general properties, the various limiting circumstances which would make us aware of its special properties have as yet no existence (for us). Accordingly लङ् and लिट् cannot (by P. III., 3, 132) be added (to a root to denote a wish) because they are according to (Pâṇini's) teaching added (to a root, not to denote past time generally, but) to denote that particular past time which precedes the current day.[3] (The fact that Pâṇini has given the

1. *I. e.* That one should be allowed to say *e. g.* not only देवश्चेदवर्षीत्, but also देवश्चेद्वर्षेत् or देवश्चेद्वर्षे.

2. See Bhairavamis'ra: अनिर्दिश्यत इत्यतिदेशः । सामान्यस्यातिदेशः सामान्यातिदेशः । सामान्यपदं सामान्यधर्मावच्छिन्नपरम् । तन्निमित्तकत्वं षष्ठ्यर्थः । एवं च सामान्यधर्मावच्छिन्ननिमित्तककार्येऽनिर्दिश्यमाने सति विशेषधर्मावच्छिन्ननिमित्तककार्यातिदेशो नेति फलितम् ॥

3. When Pâṇini in III., 3, 132 says भूतवत्, he means therefore that those affixes shall be added which would be added भूते, *i. e.* लुङ्, but not those which would be added भूतानद्यतने, *i. e.* लङ् and लिट्.—See also

rule) VI., 4, 69 shows that the present (Paribhâshâ) is not universally valid ;[1] in consequence thereof (operations dependent on) special properties (of one thing) may likewise by P. I., 1, 56 be transferred (to something else). All this is found in the Bhâshya[2] on P. I., 1, 56.

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above pag. 373, note, Extract from Kaiyaṭa; and pag. 428, note 3.

1. The addition of ल्यप् *e. g.* to या would cause the substitution (by P. VI., 4, 66) of ई for the आ of या only, if ल्यप्, like स्त्रै for which it is substituted, could be regarded as distinguished by an indicatory क्. Now, if the Paribhâshâ were universally valid, the latter would not be allowable, because कित्त्व is a *special* property of स्त्रै; there could accordingly be no reason for the substitution of ई before ल्यप्, and P. VI., 4, 69, which forbids that substitution, would be superfluous. Nevertheless P. VI., 4, 69 does serve a purpose because ल्यप्, contrary to the present Paribhâshâ, has by Pâṇini been regarded as distinguished by an indicatory क्.—See Pâyagunda: अन्यथा न स्त्रै सेट् [१.२.१८] इति निषेधेन सेटस्तदभावात्कित्त्वस्य स्त्रैविशेषधर्मत्वादनतिदेशेनेत्त्वाप्राप्त्या निषेधवैफल्यं स्यादेवेति भावः ॥

2. See Mahâbhâshya Ed. Ballantyne pag. 616 etc. ; also Bhâshya on P. VI., 3, 68 ; and Si. Kau. II., pag. 285.

PARIBHÂSHÂ CII.

P. VI., 1, 185 (teaches that that which is distinguished by an indicatory त्, is *svarita*). Now one might say that accordingly a *svarita* accent ought to be assigned *e. g.* also (to the first ई) in किरति, (because that ई, which has been substituted for the ऋ of कॄ by P. VII., 1, 100, *is* distinguished in the latter rule by an indicatory त्. The author of the Paribhâshâs) says therefore :

P. CII : (Whenever a term is employed in grammar which might denote) both an affix and also

something else, it should be taken to denote an affix (only).[1]

This (Paribhâshâ) is given (as an independent rule) in the Bhâshya on P. VI., 4, 1; that it (however) does not concern (terms denoting) a single letter which may be employed (in grammar), is clear from Kaiyaṭa's (commentary) on the same (rule).[2] In consequence of (the existence of) this (Paribhâshâ the terms सन्) in P. III., 2, 168 and (वल) in P. VI., 3, 118 denote (only) the *affixes* सन् and वल.

Others however, (and they are right), say, that according to the statement of Kaiyaṭa on the rule[3] P. VI., 1, 185, this Paribhâshâ is nowhere in the Bhâshya had recourse to (to account) for the formation of any form whatsoever; that in the Bhâshya on P. VI., 4, 1 it has been quoted by one who is only partly acquainted with the true state of the matter, for the purpose of showing that that (rule) may be dispensed with; that,

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1. As therefore the term ञित् in P. VI., 1, 185 denotes only affixes distinguished by an indicatory ञ् (such as यत् etc.) and cannot denote इत् in P. VII., 1, 100, no *svarita* accent can by the former rule be assigned to the first इ of किरति etc.

2. See Bhâshya on P. VI., 4, 1: नैतानि सन्ति प्रयोजनानि । कथम् । अर्थवद्ग्रहणप्रत्ययग्रहणाभ्यां सिद्धम् । अर्थवद्ग्रहणप्रत्ययग्रहणाभ्यामेतानि सिद्धानि । क्वचिदर्थवद्ग्रहणं नानर्थकस्येत्येवं भविष्यति । क्वचित्प्रत्ययाप्रत्ययोर्ग्रहणे प्रत्ययस्य ग्रहणं भवतीति ॥

Kaiyaṭa:..... इयङुवङोस्तु नायं परिहारो वर्णग्रहणेषु परिभाषाद्वयस्यानुपस्थानात् । यथैको यण्णचि [६.१.७७] इति दध्याशयतीत्यादावप्रत्ययेऽप्यनर्थकेऽचि यणादेशो भवति...॥ See above pag. 83, note 2.

3. See the Bhâshya on P. VI., 1, 185, above pag. 110, note 2.—Kaiyaṭa: प्रत्ययाप्रत्ययोः प्रत्यये संप्रत्यय इति परिभाषा भाष्यवार्त्तिककाराभ्यां न क्वचिदाश्रिता ॥.

in accordance herewith,[1] the author of the Vârttikas has given it as his opinion (on P. VI., 1, 185) that the term प्रत्यये ought to have been employed (in P. VI., 1, 185 to show that the *svarita* accent is by that rule assigned only to *affixes* distinguished by an indicatory त्); and that it is the interpretation (of the learned) which tells us that (सन् and वल) in the above-mentioned rules (III., 2, 168 and VI., 3, 118) denote only the affixes (सन् and वल).[2]

1. अत एव *i. e.* परिभाषाया अनाश्रयणादेव. If the Paribhâshâ did exist, it would be superfluous to employ the word प्रत्यये in P. VI., 1, 185.

2. The Paribhâshâ is accordingly rejected.

PARIBHÂSHÂ CIII.

One might say (that, as P. I., 3, 19 teaches that) the Âtmanepada-terminations (are added to जि after वि and परा, those terminations) should by that rule have been added (to जि also) in परा जयति सेना 'the superior army conquers.' (The author of the Paribhâshâs) says therefore:

P. CIII: (Whenever a term is employed in grammar which might denote) both[1] (something resembling) that in company with which it is (mentioned), and also something else (which would) not (resemble that) in company with which it is (mentioned), it should be taken to denote only the former.

1. *E. g.* परा in P. I., 3, 19 might denote the preposition परा and it might also denote the feminine of the pronominal adjective पर.

Accordingly the word परा (in P. I., 3, 19) denotes, as appears from the Bhâshya on that (rule),[1] only the preposition परा, because (only) this resembles the वि together with which परा is put down (in P. I., 3, 19).

The[2] word सहचरित 'accompanying' denotes (here) that which resembles something else, because only two (things) that resemble each other are (mentioned) in company with each other; (for) when we say *e. g.* 'Râma and Lakshmaṇa', it is likewise nothing but their mutual resemblance which makes (us mention the two together); and besides the rule is that only (things or words) resembling each other should be spoken of together and that they only should be put down together (in a rule). This much we are given to understand in the Bhâshya[3] on the rule P. II., 3, 8; for there the opinion that the Ablative case would by the rule P. II., 3, 10 have to be employed after परि (also) where the latter might convey any one of the meanings 'about' etc. (assigned to it in P. I., 4, 90) is refuted in the following words: 'Although the (*Karmapravachanîya*) परि (which occurs in P. II., 3, 10) is

1. See Bhâshya on P. I., 3, 19: विपराभ्यां जेः । उपसर्गग्रहणं कर्तव्यम् । इह मा भूत् । परा जयति सेनेति । तत्तर्हि वक्तव्यम् । न वक्तव्यम् । यद्यपि तावदयं पराशब्दो दृष्टोपचार उपसर्गेश्वनुपसर्गेश्वयं खलु विशब्दोऽदृष्टोपचार उपसर्ग एव तस्यास्य कोऽन्यो द्वितीयः सहायो भवितुमर्हत्यन्यदत उपसर्गात् । तद्यथास्य गोर्द्वितीयेनार्थी इति गौरेवोपादीयते नाश्वो न गर्दभ इति ॥

2. अस्या लोकसिद्धत्वं प्रतिपादयति । सहेति ॥ सहगमनं सहप्रयोगादिरूपमित्यर्थः ॥ P.

3. See Bhâshya on P. II., 3, 8: कर्मप्रवचनीययुक्ते द्वितीया । कर्मप्रवचनीययुक्ते प्रत्यादिभिश्च लक्षणादिषूपसंख्यानं सप्तमीपञ्चम्योः प्रतिषेधार्थम् । कर्मप्रवचनीययुक्ते प्रत्यादिभिश्च लक्षणादिषूपसंख्यानं कर्तव्यम् । वृक्षं परि विद्योतते विद्युत् । साधुर्देवदत्तो मातरं प्रति । साधुर्देवदत्तो मातरं परि । साधुर्देवदत्तो मातरमनु । किं प्रयोजनम् । सप्तमीपञ्चम्योः प्रतिषेधार्थम् । सप्तमीपञ्चम्यौ मा भूतामिति । साधुनिपुणाभ्यामर्चायां सप्तमी [२. ३.४३] इति सप्तमी । पञ्चम्यपाङ्परिभिः [२.३.१०] इति पञ्चमी ॥ तत्रायमर्थः ।

not restricted[1] to the one meaning ("away from," but is employed) both in this and in other senses, yet the word अप, (together with which it is put down in P. II., 3, 10), is certainly, where it is used as *Karmapravachanîya*, restricted to the one meaning "away from;"[2] (such being the case), by what other (परि) can the latter be accompanied (in P. II., 3, 10) except by that (परि) which conveys the sense "away from"? (If in ordinary life somebody were to say) "I want the fellow of this ox," only an ox would be brought to him, not a horse, nor a donkey; and the case is similar (in grammar).' From this (passage of the Bhâshya) we learn namely that only (words) that resemble each other are put down together (in a rule).

When (Pâṇini) in the rule VIII., 3, 43 employs (the expression) कृत्वोऽर्थे 'in the sense of "so many times", this shows that the present (Paribhâshâ) is not universally valid; otherwise the circumstance that (चतुः in that rule) must convey 'the meaning 'four times', would (in accordance with the present Paribhâshâ) have resulted already from the fact that it is accompanied (in that rule by द्विः and त्रिः which can only mean 'twice' and 'three times').[3] Accordingly (the term इट्) in P. I., 1, 6

अप्रतेरिति न वक्तव्यम् ॥ तत्तर्हि वक्तव्यम् । न वक्तव्यम् । उक्तं वा । किमुक्तम् ॥ एकल तावदुक्तम् । अप्रतेरिति ॥ इतरलापि । यद्यपि तावदयं परिर्दृष्टापचारो वर्जने चावर्जने चायं खल्वपशब्दोऽदृष्टापचारो वर्जनार्थ एव तस्य कोऽन्यो द्वितीयः सहायो भवितुमर्हत्यन्यदतो वर्जनार्थात् । तद्यथास्य गोर्द्वितीयेनार्थी इति गौरेवानीयते नाश्वो न गर्दभः ॥

Kaiyata: यदि सामान्येन कर्मप्रवचनीययुक्ते द्वितीयेति लक्षणं क्रियते तदा वृक्षं परि विद्योतत इत्यत्र विशेषविहितत्वात्पञ्चम्यपाङ्परिभिरिति पञ्चमी प्राप्नोति साधुर्देवदत्तो मातरं प्रतीत्यत्र च साधुनिपुणाभ्यामिति परत्वात्सप्तमी प्राप्नोति तत्राप्रतेरिति वक्तव्यं भवतीति मत्वाह प्रत्यादिभिश्च लक्षणादिष्टेति । ततश्च पुनर्द्वितीयाविधानात्पूर्वोक्तदोषानवतारः ॥ शिष्टं स्पष्टम् ॥

1. दृष्टापचारः, दृष्टव्यभिचारः, अनियतार्थक इति यावत्. Bhairavamis'ra.
2. P. I., 4, 88.
3. See Kaiyata on P. I., 1, 22.

denotes (contrary to the present Paribhâshâ) the *augment* (and not the root) इट् although it is accompanied by roots. More hereof elsewhere.[1]

1. अन्यत्र *i. e.* उदश्वीतादौ P.

PARIBHÂSHÂ CIV.

One might say that अनङ्, (which) by P. VII., 1, 75 (before certain case-terminations is substituted for the final of अस्थि, दधि, सक्थि etc.), ought not (by that rule) to have been (substituted) in प्रियसक्थ्ना ब्राह्मणेन because here the base (प्रियसक्थि) is not neuter (but masculine.[1] The author of the Paribhâshâs) says therefore:

P. CIV: (Wherever in a rule a qualifying term might be connected) both with something that is read (in the rule) and also with something else suggested (*e. g.* by the heading-rule of the chapter in which the former rule occurs), its connection with that which is read (in the rule) is

1. नपुंसकस्य is valid in P. VII., 1, 75 from P. VII., 1, 72; and अस्थि etc. in P. VII., 1, 75 denote by Par. XXIX. not merely अस्थि etc. by themselves, but also any bases that end in अस्थि etc. The meaning of P. VII., 1, 75 might therefore seem to be, that 'अनङ् is substituted for the final of neuter bases ending in अस्थि etc.', and according to this interpretation it ought not to be substituted for the final of the *masculine* base प्रियसक्थि.

stronger (than its connection with what is suggested *e. g.* by such heading-rule);[1]

i. e., it is connected with that which is read[2] (in the rule), not with that which is suggested by, or in other words, is supplied *e. g.* from, (the heading-rule of) the chapter (in which the former rule occurs), *viz.* because the fact that a word is actually read (in a rule) carries more weight with it than *e. g.* the circumstance that a word is supplied from a heading-rule.[3] Accordingly the (term नपुंसक 'neuter) gender' (which is valid in P. VII., 1, 75) qualifies there (the words) अस्थि etc. (which we actually read in the rule, and does) not (qualify the term) अङ्गस्य (which is supplied in P. VII., 1, 75 from the heading-rule P. VI., 4, 1).[4] In those rules[5] however that teach (the substitution of) शि, शी, लुक्, (or the insertion of) नुम्, (नपुंसक) can qualify only (the term) अङ्गस्य supplied from the heading-rule (VI., 4, 1) because in them nothing is actually put down (that could be qualified by it).

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1. नपुंसकस्य which is valid in P. VII., 1, 75, might qualify either the words अस्थि etc. which are actually read in the rule, or the term अङ्गस्य supplied from the heading-rule P. VI., 4, 1; such being the case, we must, in accordance with the present Paribhâshâ, make it qualify अस्थि etc., and the meaning of P. VII., 1, 75 becomes therefore this, that 'अनङ् is substituted for the final of bases ending in the neuter अस्थि etc.' According to this interpretation अनङ् has been correctly substituted in प्रियसक्थ्ना ब्राह्मणेन.

2. श्रुतत्वं साक्षादुच्चारितत्वमन्यतराकाङ्क्षारूपस्थानप्रमाणलब्धत्वं च । अनुमितत्वं तूभयाकाङ्क्षारूपप्रकरणप्राप्तत्वम् । P.—See below गृह्यमाणस्य शलन्तस्य.

3. श्रुतिलिङ्गवाक्यप्रकरणस्थानसमाख्यानां पारदौर्बल्यमर्थित्वप्रकर्षादिति न्यायेनेति भावः ॥ P.

4. Cf. also Schol. on P. VII., 2, 99.

5. *E. g.* in P. VII., 1, 20; 73 etc.

It is on account of (the existence of) this[1] (Paribhâshâ) that (Pâṇini) has not worded his rule VII., 1, 79 (आ नपुंसकस्य) 'वा शौ'; for there नपुंसकस्य has been employed (by him) in order that (it may qualify the reduplicated participles ending with शतृ) which is put down[2] (in VII., 1, 78 and must necessarily be supplied from it in P. VII., 1, 79, but not the term अङ्ग supplied from P. VI., 4, 1, and that नुम्) may (accordingly) be (optionally inserted) in a base that ends with a (reduplicated) neuter participle ending in शतृ, (but not in a neuter base that ends with a redupl. participle in शतृ which is not neuter; *e. g.* नुम्) shall not be (optionally inserted) in the Nom. Plur. of the neuter base बहुददत् when conveying the sense of बह्वी ददतो येषु; but it shall be (inserted) in the Nom. Plur. of the masculine base बहुददत् when the latter is employed in the sense of बहूनि ददन्ति येषु.—The above we find in the Bhâshya[3] on P. VII., 1, 23.

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1. अत एव *i. e.* एतद्वचनसत्त्वादेव. P.—Had Pâṇini worded the rule VII., 1, 79, 'वा शौ,' the meaning of that rule would have been अभ्यस्तात्परो यः शतृप्रत्ययस्तदन्तः शब्दोऽन्तो यस्याङ्गस्य तस्य शौ परे वा नुम्, and we should accordingly have formed the Nom. Plur. of the neuter base बहुददत् (बह्वी ददतो येषु) बहुददति or बहुददन्ति, which would have been wrong. See below.

2. शतृ is not actually put down in P. VII., 1, 79 but it must necessarily be supplied from the preceding rule to make the rule VII., I, 79 complete.

3. See Bhâshya on P. VII., 1, 23: इदं विचार्यते । शिशीलुप्रभृतिषु नपुंसकग्रहणं शब्दग्रहणं वा स्यादर्थग्रहणं वेति । कश्चात्र विशेषः । शिशीलुप्रभृतिषु नपुंसकग्रहणं शब्दग्रहणं चेदन्यपदार्थे प्रतिषेधः । शिशीलुप्रभृतिषु नपुंसकग्रहणं शब्दग्रहणं चेदन्यपदार्थे प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः । बहुलपुः । बहुलपू । बहुलपव इति । अस्तु तर्ह्यर्थग्रहणम् । यद्यर्थग्रहणं प्रियसक्थ्ना ब्राह्मणेनेत्यत्वानङ् प्राप्नोति । अस्तु तर्हि शब्दग्रहणमेव । ननु चोक्तं शिशीलुप्रभृतिषु नपुंसकग्रहणं शब्दग्रहणं चेदन्यपदार्थे प्रतिषेध इति । सिद्धं तु प्रकृतार्थविशेषणत्वात् । सिद्धमेतत् । कथम् । प्रकृतस्यार्थो विशेष्यते । किं च प्रकृतम् । अङ्गम । अङ्गस्य शिशीलुप्रभृतयो भवन्ति नपुंसके वर्तमानस्य । कथं प्रियसक्थ्ना ब्राह्मणेन ।

Some however give another example (for this Paribhâshâ. When the question should arise as to whether by P. VIII., 4, 46 र्, should only *cause* the doubling of a consonant contained in the Pratyâhâra यर्, or should also itself by that rule be doubled after ह्, they say) that it can (by P. VIII., 4, 46) only be the *cause* (of the doubling of a consonant) but cannot itself be doubled (by that rule), because (so far as it *causes* the doubling) it is actually read (in P. VIII., 4, 46), whereas it would be doubled only because it is suggested to us by (the Pratyâhâra) यर् in which it is contained.[1] This (however) is incorrect; for (what is here supposed to result from this Paribhâshâ) results (in

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अस्थ्यादिषु शब्दग्रहणम्। अस्थ्यादिषु नपुंसकग्रहणं शब्दग्रहणं द्रष्टव्यम्। युक्तं पुनरिदं विचारयितुम्। नन्वनेनासंदिग्धेनार्थग्रहणेन भवितव्यं न हि नपुंसकं नाम शब्दोऽस्ति। किं तर्ह्युच्यतेऽस्थ्यादिषु शब्दग्रहणमिति। अलाप्यर्थग्रहणमेव। अलैतावान्संदेहः। क्व प्रकृतस्यार्थो विज्ञेष्यते क्व गृह्यमाणस्येति। शिशीलुग्रुम्बिषु प्रकृतस्यार्थो विज्ञेष्यतेऽस्थ्यादिषु गृह्यमाणस्य॥

The Paribhâshâ itself I have found nowhere in the Mahâbhâshya.

1. P. VIII., 4, 46 teaches that a consonant contained in the Pratyâhâra यर् (*i. e.* य्, व्, र्, ल् etc.) may optionally be doubled after र् or ह् when these are preceded by a vowel. Now there arises in such instances as महाह्रद the question whether by the above rule र्, which is contained in the Pratyâhâra यर्, should be doubled after ह्. This question is answered in the negative and it is stated that by the present Paribhâshâ र् can only cause the doubling of a following consonant (as *e. g.* अर्क, अर्क) but cannot itself be doubled after ह्. Nâgojibhatta evidently quotes in the above Siradeva, who has the Paribhâshâ श्रुतानुमितयोः श्रौतः संबन्धो बलीयान्, on which he comments thus: तेनाचो रहाभ्यां द्वे इत्यत्र रहाभ्यामिति साक्षाच्छ्रुतेन निमित्तभावेन यरन्तभावादनुमितं कार्यित्वं बाध्यते।....अयं च लौकिकन्यायलब्धोऽर्थः। तथा च पठन्ति। साक्षाच्छ्रुतेनानुमितं बाध्यते प्रत्यक्षानुमितयोः प्रत्यक्षं बलीय इति।....

reality) from the maxim of Kaundinya and the buttermilk.[1] More hereof elsewhere.[2]

1. See above pag. 322.—Bhairavamis'ra: तक्रकौण्डिन्येति। ननु येन-नाप्राप्तिन्यायनिरूपणावसरे तक्रकौण्डिन्यन्यायोऽनवकाशविषयो विधेयविषयश्चेत्युक्तम् (See above pag. 327) । अत्र तु तक्रकौण्डिन्यन्यायेन सिद्धेरित्युच्यते । एतन्मूलोक्तविरुद्धं निमित्तत्वस्याविधेयत्वादिति चेत् । न । तक्रकौण्डिन्यन्यायस्थलीयो यो न्यायो युक्तिरनवकाशत्वरूपा तया सिद्धेरित्यर्थात् । यत्रयत्र रेफस्य निमित्तत्वं तत्र सर्वत्र वाक्यान्तरेण कार्यितस्य प्रसक्त्या निमित्तत्वमनवकाशमिति तेन न्यायेन तद्भीत्येत्यर्थात् ॥

2. अन्यत्र *i. e.* उद्द्योतादौ. P.

PARIBHÂSHÂ CV.

(P. VI., 2, 2 teaches that in a Tatpurusha-compound the first member retains its original accent, provided it would stand in the Instrumental case, if the compound were dissolved; P. II., 4, 77, that the Aorist affix सिच् is dropped after पा in the Parasmaipada). Now one might say that the accent taught in the former rule should be (assigned by that rule also) *e. g.* (to परम) in परमकारकेण (where the latter conveys the sense of) परमेण कारकेण;[1] and that by the latter rule (सिच्) should be dropped after पा also when it, in consequence of the substitution (by P. VI., 1, 45) of आ (for ऐ), stands for पै 'to dry'.[2] (The author of the Paribhâshâs) says therefore:

1. परमेणेति । अत्र परिनिष्ठितविभक्त्या विशेषणं विशेष्येण [२.१.५७] इति समानाधिकरणसमासः । अत्र तृतीयासमाससत्त्वात्तत्प्रयुक्तस्तनुरूषे तुल्यार्थैतृतीया [६.२.२] इति स्वरः स्यादिति भावः ॥ Chitprabhâ.

2. *I. e.* that the Aor. Par. of पै 'to dry' should by P. II., 4, 77 likewise be अपात्, just as it is अपात् of पा 'to drink.'

P. CV : (Whenever[1] a term is employed which might denote) both something original and also something else resulting from a rule (of grammar),—or (when a term is employed in a rule which might denote) both something (formed by another rule) in which the same individual term has been employed, and also something else formed by a general rule,—such a term should be taken to denote, (in the former case) only that which is original,[2] and (in the latter case) only that (which is formed by that rule) in which the same individual term has been employed.[3]

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1. अत्र लक्षणं च प्रतिपदं चेति द्वन्द्वं कृत्वोक्तशब्देन वा तृतीयासमासः। द्वन्द्वान्ते श्रूयमाणत्वात्प्रत्येकं संबन्धः। लक्षणशब्देन च सामान्यलक्षणमत्र प्रतिपदोक्तसमभिव्याहारादिति बोध्यम्। तदाह लक्षणेनेत्यर्थ इति। एकदेशस्थेति भावः॥. P.

2. *E. g.* पा in P. II., 4, 77 denotes only the original पा 'to drink', but not the form पा of पै 'to dry,' because the latter results from a rule *viz.* from P. VI., 1, 45. (Si. Kau. II., pag. 96).—सखि in P. VII., 1, 92 denotes only the original word सखि 'a friend,' but not the सखि of अतिसखि (*i. e.* सखीमतिक्रान्त), because the latter सखि results from P. I., 2, 48. (Si. Kau. I., pag. 113).

3. *E. g.* The Tritiyâ-tatpurushas in P. VI., 2, 2 can be only the Tatpurushas formed by P. II., 1, 30 in which the term तृतीया has been employed by Pâṇini, not compounds formed by the general rule II., 1, 57.—The *Dik*-samâsas in P. I., 1, 28 can be only the compounds formed by P. II., 2, 26 in which the term दिश् actually occurs, not compounds formed by the general rule II., 2, 24. (Si. Kau. I., pag. 128).—The compounds commencing with महत् spoken of in P. VI., 3, 46 would by

(लक्षण in लक्षणप्रतिपदोक्तयोः) means '(resulting) from a rule' or '(formed) by a general rule.' (Accordingly such a term as '*Instrumental*' Tatpurusha-compound in P. VI., 2, 2, can denote only those compounds the formation of which is taught in P. II., 1, 30, because in that rule the individual term तृतीया 'Instrumental' has been actually employed by Pâṇini; and the term पा in P. II., 4, 77 can denote only the root पा 'to drink.') For (Instrumental Tatpurusha) compounds etc., formed (by rules like P. II., 1, 30 etc.) in which the individual terms 'Instrumental' etc. have been employed (by Pâṇini), are *pratipadokta;* and they alone are denoted (by the expressions 'Instrumental' Tatpurushas etc. in P. VI., 2, 2 etc.), because they present themselves to us at once (when we hear the words 'Instrumental Tatpurushas' etc.), while such other (compounds as परमकारकेण, being formed by general rules like P. II., 1, 57,) present themselves to us later. (Similarly, when we hear the term पा,) the form पा of पै does not present itself to us until (पै), after the ap-

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the present Paribhâshâ be only those compounds that are formed by P. II., 1, 61 (सन्महत् etc.) had Pâṇini not employed the term समानाधिकरण in the rule VI., 3, 46. (Si. Kau. I., pag. 388.)—Cf. also Si. Kau. II., pag. 574; 579 (P. VI., 2, 57 and II., 1, 63); 581 (P. VI., 2, 68 and II., 1, 54) etc.

See also the Bhâshya on P. I., 1, 13; I., 1, 20; I., 1, 28; and on many other rules. The Bhâshya on P. VI., 2, 2 runs thus: तत्पुरुषे विभक्तिप्रकृतिस्वरत्वे कर्मधारये प्रतिषेधः। तत्पुरुषे विभक्तिप्रकृतिस्वरत्वे कर्मधारये प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः। परमं कारकं परमकारकम्। परमेण कारकेण परमकारकेण। परमे कारके परमकारक इति। सिद्धं तु लक्षणप्रतिपदोक्तयोः प्रतिपदोक्तस्यैव ग्रहणात्। सिद्धमेतत्। कथम्। लक्षणप्रतिपदोक्तयोः प्रतिपदोक्तस्यैवेति प्रतिपदं यो द्वितीयासप्तमीतृतीयासमासस्तस्य ग्रहणं लक्षणोक्तश्चायम्॥

Kaiyaṭa: विशेषणसमासो न प्रथमान्तानामेव भवत्यपि तु द्वितीयाद्यन्तानामपीति भावः॥ लक्षणोक्त इति। विभक्तिविशेषमनुपादाय सामान्यलक्षणेनायं समासो विहित इत्यर्थः॥

plication (to it) of the rule (P. VI., 1, 45, has been changed to पा), whereas पा 'to drink' presents itself to us at once. For it is this very circumstance (that one thing presents itself to us at once when we hear a particular term, and that another thing does not present itself till later), which gives rise to the present Paribhâshâ.[1]

This (Paribhâshâ is applicable) also to (terms) denoting single letters, for it has been made use of in the Bhâshya on P. I., 1, 15 (to prove that the term ओत् in that rule denotes only an original ओ).[2] How the contrary opinion, that this (Paribhâshâ has) *no* (concern) with (terms) denoting single letters, (which is supposed to be) proved by the fact that (Pâṇini) has employed[3] the word उपदेशे in the rule VI., 1, 45, has in the S'abdendu-s'ekhara on the very rule (P. VI., 1, 45) been shown to be faulty, may be ascertained from that (work).—The circumstance that (Pâṇini) in VIII., 2, 71 (has qualified भुवः) by the expression महाव्याहृतेः 'when it is the great mystical word (भुवः)'[4], shows that

1. तथा च लौकिकलाघवगौरवमूलकोऽयं न्यायः. P.

2. ओत् in P. 1., 1, 15 denotes only the final ओ of Nipâtas like अहो etc. that originally end in ओ, but it does not denote *e. g.* the ओ of अदो in अदोभवत् (*i. e.* अनदोऽदोऽभवत्, see P. I., 4, 61) because the latter stands for original अस्.

See Bhâshya on P. I., 1, 15: ओनश्चित्प्रतिषेधः । ओदन्तस्य निपातस्य च्व्यन्तस्य प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः । अनदोऽदोऽभवत् अदोभवत् । तिरोभवत् । न वक्तव्यम् । लक्षणप्रतिपदोक्तयोः प्रतिपदोक्तस्येत्येव भविष्यति ॥

3. *I. e.* that Pâṇini has stated that आ is substituted for the final of a root which 'in an original enunciation' *i. e.* 'originally' ends in ए, ऐ, or ओ.

4. Pâṇini has employed the word महाव्याहृतेः in order to prevent the application of the rule VIII., 2, 71 *e. g.* to the Nom. Plur. भुवः of भू. If

this (Paribhâshâ) is not universally valid. More hereof elsewhere.[1]

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the present Paribhâshâ were universally valid, महाव्याहृतेः would be superfluous, because in that case भुवः would by the Paribhâshâ denote only the original mystical word भुवः, not also *e. g.* the Nom. Plur. भुवः of भू.

1. अन्यत्र *i. e.* शेखरादौ. Chitprabhâ.

PARIBHÂSHÂ CVI.

Now one might say that, (if) then (the preceding Paribhâshâ were adopted, दा in P. I., 1, 20 ought not to denote the दा which by P. VI., 1, 45 stands for original दे or दो, and that accordingly) neither देङ् nor the root दो ought to be termed घु, although their (final vowel) is changed to आ; that similarly (मा in P. VIII., 4, 17 ought not to denote the मा which) by the same substitution of आ (for ए stands for original मे, and that) ण् ought (therefore) not by P. VIII., 4, 17 to be substituted (for the न् of नि) *e. g.* in the Periphr. Fut. of ग्रन्थि+मेङ्; and that (गा in P. VI., 4, 66 ought not to denote the गा which) by the substitution of आ (for ऐ stands for original गै, and that) ई ought (accordingly) not by P. VI., 4, 66 to be substituted for (the final of) गै. (The author of the Paribhâshâs) says therefore:

P. CVI: The terms गा, मा, or दा, when they are employed (in grammar, denote) both (the original roots गा, मा, दा, and also the roots which are changed to गा, मा, दा).

The fact that दैप् has an indicatory प् attached to it, indicates (the existence of) this (Paribhâshâ); for the (indicatory प् has been

attached to दै) in order that both (दाप् and दैप्) may be denoted by (the दाप् of) अदाप् (in P. I., 1, 20, and that the latter as well as the former may be excluded from that rule. If) on the other hand (the present Paribhâshâ did not exist), it would have been useless to attach an indicatory प् (to दै) for the sake of including the latter in the exception (अदाप्); for in that case (दै) could (in accordance with Par. CV.,) not have been denoted (by the दा) in दाधा घु (and could therefore not possibly have been termed घु by that rule), because (दा is not the original form of दै, but) results from a rule (of grammar).[1] The (indicatory प् of दैप्) proves then (the correctness of part[2] of this Paribhâshâ) and by doing so it indicates (the existence of) the whole Paribhâshâ. And this (Paribhâshâ) which supersedes[3] (not only) Par. CV., (but also) Par. LXXXI. and XC., is found in the Bhâshya[4] on the rule P. I., 1, 20.—(गति) in the rule P. II., 4, 77 should in accordance with the Bhâshya[5] be taken to denote

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1. If the Paribhâshâ did not exist, दा in दाधा घु would by the preceding Paribhâshâ denote only the original दा, but not दै; it would consequently have been superfluous to attach a प् to दै for the sake of preventing its being termed घु by दाधाघु in P. I., 1, 20.

2. *Viz.* of that portion of it which relates to दा.

3. लक्षणप्रतिपदोक्तपरिभाषानन्तरमस्या उल्लेखेन तदपवादत्वमेवेति भ्रमस्य तदनिराय एव सिद्धे वैफल्यस्य च निरासायाह । इयं चेति । अनेनोल्लेखस्तु ज्ञापकानुरोधादशोकवनिकान्यायात्सर्वान्त औचित्याच्चेति भावः ॥ बाधिकेति । बाध्यसामान्यचिन्तया येननाप्राप्तिन्यायादिति भावः ॥. P.

4. See Bhâshya on P. I., 1, 20: दोष एवैतस्याः परिभाषाया लक्षणप्रतिपदोक्तयोः प्रतिपदोक्तस्यैवेति गामादाग्रहणेष्वविशेष इति ॥

5 See Bhâshya on P. II., 4, 77: गापोर्ग्रहण इण्निवत्योर्ग्रहणम् । गापोर्ग्रहण इण्निवत्योर्ग्रहणं कर्तव्यम् । इणो यो गाशब्दः पिबतेर्यः पाशब्द इति वक्तव्यम् । इह मा भूत् । अगासीन्नटः । अपासीद्भनमिति । तर्ह्यर्थं वक्तव्यम् । न वक्तव्यम् । इण्ग्रहणे तावत्

only that ग्रा which is substituted for (the root) इण्. More hereof elsewhere.[1]

द्वार्ते निर्देशादेव व्यक्तं लुग्विकरणस्य ग्रहणमिति । ग्राग्रहणे चापि वार्त्तैमुक्तमेतत्सर्वत्रैव ग्राग्रहणेऽलुग्विकरणस्य ग्रहणमिति ॥

1. लक्ष्यानुरोधादर्थवत्परिभाषानया न बाध्यते । अत एव दाशृशब्दे दाशब्दस्य घुसंज्ञायां दाग्रहणेन न ग्रहणम् । साहचर्यपरिभाषया भ्वादि न बाधः । तेन ह्वाम्रामश्च [3.2.2] इत्यत्र साहचर्यान्मात्रङ्मेङोरेव ग्रहणं न मा मान इत्यस्येत्याह । अन्यत्रेति । उद्द्योतादाविर्थः ॥. Chitprabhâ.

PARIBHÂSHÂS CVII. AND CVIII.

One might say that, (when) *e. g.* (P. I., 1, 1 'वृद्धिरादैच्' teaches that 'आत्, *i. e.* आ, and ऐच्, *i. e.* ऐ and औ, are termed Vriddhi,') the term *Vriddhi* ought (by that rule) to denote the collection (of vowels आ+ऐ+औ. The author of the Paribhâshâs) says therefore:

P. CVII: What is stated (in grammar of several things) must be understood (to have been stated thereby) of each of them separately;[1]

just as in (the sentence) 'let Devadatta and the others be fed' the feeding (is enjoined of every individual denoted by the words 'Devadatta and the others').[2]

Now one might say that, (when P. I., 1, 7 'हलोऽनन्तराः संयोगः' teaches that 'consonants unseparated by vowels are termed Sam-

1. *Vriddhi* denotes therefore each of the vowels आ, ऐ, औ by itself.

2. The Paribhâshâ is consequently *Lokanyâya-siddhâ*.

yoga,' or when he teaches that 'words compounded are termed Samâsa,' or when he in VI., 1, 5 'उभे अभ्यस्तम्' teaches that 'both the reduplicative syllable and the root are termed Abhyasta'), the terms *Samyoga*, *Samâsa*, and *Abhyasta* ought likewise in accordance (with the preceding Paribhâshâ) to denote, (the first) each (of such consonants) by itself, (the second each of the words compounded, and the last the reduplicative syllable by itself and also the root by itself. The author of the Paribhâshâs) says therefore:

P. CVIII: Sometimes (it) also (happens that what is stated in grammar of several things, must be understood to have been stated thereby) of all of them collectively;[1]

just as *e. g.* (the sentence) 'the kings being desirous of gold, the Gârgyas should be fined a hundred', (enjoins that all the Gârgyas together, not that every Gârgya) should be fined (a hundred).[2] The one or the other (of these two Paribhâshâs is adopted) according as the various forms (that have to be formed, or the formation of which has to be accounted for, by the rules of Pâṇini's grammar, require the adoption of one or the other).[3]

1. *Samyoga* denotes accordingly the collection of consonants unseparated by vowels etc.

1. This Paribhâshâ is therefore likewise *Lokanyâya-siddhâ*.

3. See the Bhâshya and Kaiyaṭa on P. I., 1, 1 (below); on I., 1, 7; and on several other rules.

Extract from the Bhâshya[1] on P. I., 1, 1:

प्रत्येकं गुणवृद्धिसंज्ञे भवत इति वक्तव्यम्। किं प्रयोजनम्। समुदाये मा भूतामिति। अन्यत्र सहवचनात्समुदाये संज्ञाप्रसङ्गः। अन्यत्र सहवचनात्समुदाये वृद्धिगुणसंज्ञयोरप्रसङ्गः। यत्रेच्छति सहभूतानां कार्यं करोति तत्र सहग्रहणं तद्यथा सह सुपा [२.१.४] उभे अभ्यस्तं सहेति [६.१.५]। प्रत्यवयवं च वाक्यपरिसमाप्तेः। प्रत्यवयवं च वाक्यपरिसमाप्तिर्दृश्यते तद्यथा देवदत्तयज्ञदत्तविष्णुमित्रा भोज्यन्तामिति। न चोच्यते प्रत्येकमिति प्रत्येकं च भुजिः परिसमाप्यते। ननु चायमप्यस्ति दृष्टान्तः समुदाये वाक्यपरिसमाप्तिरिति तद्यथा गर्गाः शतं दण्डयन्तामर्थिनश्च राजानो हिरण्येन भवन्ति। न च प्रत्येकं दण्डयन्ति। सत्येतस्मिन्दृष्टान्ते यदि तत्र सहग्रहणं क्रियत इहापि प्रत्येकमिति वक्तव्यम्। अथ तत्रान्तरेण सहग्रहणं सहभूतानां कार्यं भवतीहापि नार्थः प्रत्येकमिति वचनेन॥

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1. Extract from Kaiyaṭa: उभे अभ्यस्तं सहेति। अत्र सहग्रहणं वार्त्तिककारस्य कर्तव्यतेन स्थितं भाष्यकारस्तूभेग्रहणस्यैतत्प्रयोजनं स्थापयिष्यति॥ प्रत्यवयवं चेति। अत्र वाक्यशब्देन वाक्यार्थः फलमुच्यते। तच्च देवदत्तादीनां भोजनम्। तस्य चैतदेव रूपं यत्प्रत्येकपरिसमाप्त्या संपद्यते उन्नादनादिरूपत्वात्तृप्तिफलत्वाच्च भोजनस्य। नाट्यक्रिया तु समुदाये समाप्यते गीतादिक्रियासमुदायरूपत्वात्तस्याः। संयोगसंज्ञा त्वन्यर्थत्वात्समुदाये प्रवर्तते। वृद्धिसंज्ञा तु लभ्ये पृथगादेशां दर्शनान्मालादीनां च [६.२.८८] इति लिङ्गाच्च प्रत्येकं व्यवतिष्ठते॥ गर्गाः शतं दण्डयन्तामिति। अत्र शतस्येप्सिततमत्वात्प्राधान्यमपादानस्थानप्राप्ता गर्गा गुणकर्म न च गुणभेदेन प्रधानस्य भेद इति शतदण्डनं समूहे परिसमाप्यते॥ अर्थिनश्चेति शतस्य प्राधान्यं प्रतिपाद्यते दण्डपरार्था हि चोदनार्था शतस्य प्राधान्यमतो वाक्यादवगम्यते॥ अथ तत्रान्तरेणेति। न्यायादन्यर्थत्वाच्च समाससंज्ञायाः समुदाये परिसमाप्तौ सिद्धायां योगविभागार्थं तत्र सहग्रहणं स्थितमिति तत्रान्तरेणेत्युक्तम्॥

PARIBHÂSHÂ CIX.

(ॡ and ऌ) in P. I., 4, 3 (may either be some individual ॡ and ऌ, or they may represent any and every ॡ and ऌ); now one might say that, if on the former alternative they were pronounced (in P. I., 4, 3) with a particular accent, a differently accented (ॡ or ऌ) would not be termed (*nadî* by that rule), for the rule P. I., 1, 69 (according to which a vowel contained in the Pratyâhâra अण् denotes also all vowels homogeneous with it) would not be applicable to the *long* (vowels ॡ and ऌ) put down (in P. I., 4, 3), because the latter are *not* contained in (the Pratyâhâra) अण्.[1] (The author of the Paribhâshâs) says therefore:

P. CIX: (When the same letters have different qualities, these different) qualities do not render them different (letters).[2]

I. e. A (particular) quality which without a special effort[3] is

1. *I. e.* when ॡ and ऌ in P. I., 4, 3 represent every ॡ and ऌ, then the term *nadî* is assigned to *udâtta* ॡ and ऌ, *anudâtta* ॡ and ऌ etc.; but when ॡ and ऌ in P. I., 4, 3 are *e. g. udâtta* ॡ and ऌ, then *anudâtta* ॡ and ऌ cannot be termed *nadî* by that rule.

2. *E. g.* The ॡ which is pronounced as *udâtta*, is not regarded as different from the ॡ pronounced as *anudâtta* or *svarita*; nor is the nasalized ॡ regarded as different from the unnasalized ॡ. *Udâtta* ॡ denotes therefore also *anudâtta* ॡ and *svarita* ॡ, unnasalized ॡ also nasalized ॡ, and *vice versâ*.

3. A quality is assigned to a letter *without a special effort*, when it is assigned to it in accordance with the ordinary rules of grammar; but where it has been assigned to it against the ordinary rules of the language, there it is assigned to it by a special effort, and in that case a letter so qualified is meant to denote only that particular letter and not also the same letter differently qualified. See below.

assigned to a letter while the latter is being pronounced,[1] does not render (that letter) different, or in other words, is not assigned (to it) for the purpose (of distinguishing it, from letters differently qualified). The circumstance that (Pâṇini) employs the (separate) word उदात्तः[2] *e. g.* in (the rule) VII., 1, 75,[3] indicates (the existence of) this (Paribhâshâ; for, if the Paribhâshâ did not exist, the word उदात्तः would be superfluous), because (in that case the object for which उदात्तः has been employed in P. VII., 1, 75 etc.) might have been attained by simply pronouncing (the initial अ of) अनङ् etc. as *udâtta*. From our explanation 'a quality assigned to a letter while the latter is being pronounced' it follows, that when in (rules like) P. IV., 2, 44, VI., 1, 169 etc. (a particular quality) is assigned (to a letter) by means of such separate words as *udâtta* etc., (the qualities denoted by the latter) *are* intended (to distinguish letters so qualified from letters differently qualified). When (Pâṇini) in I., 1, 18, where the *non*-nasal (ञ) should have been put down (as substitute for the non-nasal श), by a special effort puts down the *nasal* (ञँ), his doing so shows that (ञँ) *is* meant (to denote only the nasal ञँ, not also the non-nasal ञ); and when he *e. g.* in VII., 1, 85 puts down the *non*-nasal (भा), while the *nasal* (भाँ) should have been put down (as substitute) for original (न्), it follows (similarly) that that (*non*-nasal भा) *is* meant (to denote only the non-nasal भा, and

1. *I. e.* the quality must be actually pronounced while the letter is being pronounced, which would be the case *e. g.* if ई or ऊ in P. I., 4, 3 were pronounced as *udâtta*; but it must not be assigned to the letter by separate words such as उदात्त etc.

2. *Scil.* in order to show that the vowel अ् of the substitute अन् is always to be *udâtta*.

3. See also P. VII., 1, 98.

not also nasal अँ).[1] This is the reason why we have said above 'without a special effort.'

And one cannot object that, as अस्थि etc. (in P. VII., 1, 75) are by the Phiṭ-sûtra II., 3 *ádyudátta*, and as the substitute अन् for their original final (*anudátta* vowel) should therefore likewise have been pronounced as *anudátta*, the actual pronunciation of it (in P. VII., 1, 75) as *udátta* would (because it would have required a special effort) sufficiently have shown (that only the *udátta* अन् is substituted for the final of अस्थि etc.), just as (the nasal ऊँ in P. I., 1, 18 has been said to show that only that ऊँ is allowed to be substituted for उ), and that accordingly the (employment of the word उदात्तः in P. VII., 1, 75) cannot be said to indicate (the existence of the present Paribhâshâ)[2]; for as (अन् is not only substituted for *anudátta* इ, but) is, in the case of (compounds) like परमास्थि which are *antodátta*, substituted also for *udátta* (इ, the actual pronunciation of it in P. VII., 1, 75 as *udátta* would not have required a special effort and) could (therefore) not have shown (that only the *udátta* अन् is substituted for the final of अस्थि etc.).

Passages in the Bhâshya such as (we find on P. VII., 2, 99, I., 1, 56, VI., 3, 52 and 78,) 'that चतसृ shall be put down as *ádyudátta*, the substitute र्स as *ádyudátta*, that पद etc. are put down as *antodátta*, and स as *udátta*,' imply according to Kaiyaṭa and others that, when

1. According to what will be stated below, the present Paribhâshâ would not be applicable at all in P. I., 1, 18 and VII., 1, 85 because ऊँ and आ are *taught* in those rules. Bhairavamis'ra remarks therefore: इदं संप्रदायमतेन वस्तुतस्तु विधेयाप्यविषये वक्ष्यमाणैव रीतिर्बोध्या.

2. *I. e.* The fact that the pronunciation of अन् as *udátta* would require a special effort, would prevent the *udátta* अन् from denoting also *anudátta* अन्, and the separate word उदात्तः would serve no purpose after having indicated the existence of this Paribhâshâ.

the words of Pâṇini's grammar are read *without* accents, the occasional pronunciation of (a term *with*) a particular accent *is* meant to distinguish (that term so accentuated from the same term differently accentuated;[1] and the same scholars maintain) that (the author of the) Bhâshya makes (the word उदात्तः in P. VII., 1, 75) indicate (the existence of the present Paribhâshâ only) on the alternative that (all the words of Pâṇini's grammar) are read with the three accents.

Others however, (and they are right,) say: '(The words) निपातनम् (निपात्यते etc. which occur in the above-mentioned passages of the Bhâshya, do not mean simply that a certain form *is put down* in a rule, but they) mean that a form is put down which (according to the ordinary rules of the language) should have been formed differently; (to put down something) in this manner requires a special effort, from which it follows that (when) a particular accent (has been so put down), it is meant to render (the term so accentuated different from the same term differently accentuated). When (चतस् in तिसृचतसृ of P. VII., 2, 99) is (then) made *ádyudátta*, while तिसृचतसृ as a Dvandva-compound should have been put down as *antodátta*, and when (वन्, पद and स) are differently accentuated from what they should have been as substitutes for (हन्, पाद, and सह), it follows that (चतस् in P. VII., 2, 99) is meant to denote (only the *ádyudátta* चतस्, वर्ष only the *ádyudátta* वर्ष etc.). There is nothing to prove

1. In other words, Kaiyaṭa etc. consider that the present Paribhâshâ must not be adopted in case the words of Pâṇini's grammar are (as a rule) read without accents. See below pag. 499, note 3. Cf. P. नन्वेवमपि निपातनस्थले यत्नविशेषाभावाच्चतसरीत्यादिभाष्यासंगतिरत आह । चनेति ॥ नन्वेवं ज्ञापकपरभाष्यासंगतिः स्वतन्त्रप्युक्तरीत्या तदुच्चारणस्य विवक्षार्थत्वसंभवादत आह । तेस्वर्थेनेति ॥

that all (the words of) Pâṇini's grammar have been left by him unaccented, (though) occasionally a word may have been given by him without any accents, as *e. g.* ऐक्ष्वाक[1] in the rule P. VI., 4, 174. Although those who study the Angas read them certainly, as one does the Brâhmaṇas, without distinguishing the three accents, yet they know from the explanation (of the learned) where an *udâtta* etc. has been put down, just as they know from it that (a letter) is *anunâsika* etc.'

Where a letter is *taught* (in a rule), there it does in consequence of the prohibition अप्रयोगी: (in P. I., 1, 69) not denote (also) the homogeneous letters which it (otherwise) would denote by the present Paribhâshâ;[2] for this reason it is not the nasal वँ which *e. g.* in षट्वत् has (been substituted) for the म् of (the affix) मतुप्;[3] (and) it is for the same reason that (Pâṇini) has put down तद्वान् in the rule IV., 4, 125. (If) on the other hand (a letter which is taught in a rule did likewise denote also those letters that differ from it only in quality, then the substitute for the म् of मतुप् ought to have been *nasal* वँ, and in that case the final द् of तद् would) by the rule प्रत्यये भाषायां नित्यम्[4] have been changed necessarily to the nasal (न् before वँत्).

On the alternative however that (a letter is regarded) as the

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1. *Scil.* which is either *âdyudâtta* when formed by P. IV., 1, 168, or *antodâtta* when formed by P. IV., 2, 132.

2. See above pag. 105.

3. The वँ, the substitution of which is taught in P. VIII., 2, 9, denotes only the *niranunâsika* व्, not also the *anunâsika* वँ; if it did denote the latter, the latter ought to have been substituted for the nasal म् of मतुप् in the formation of षट्वत् from षट् + मतुप्.

4. See Si. Kau. I., pag. 60.

representative of all (the individual letters) of its kind,[1] the present (maxim) must be considered unnecessary ; (and) when[2] *e. g.* (in P. I., 4, 3) ई and ऊ are (so) put down as representatives of all long (ई's an ऊ's, the term *nadî*) cannot (by that rule) be assigned (to any letters) that should not be (termed *nadî*). More hereof elsewhere.[3]

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1. See above pag. 494 note 1.

2. See Râghavendrâchârya: ननु जातिपक्षे यू इत्यनेन ह्रस्वयोरपि नदीसंज्ञा स्यादित्यादिजातिस्तत्रापि सत्त्वादित्यत आह । यू इति ॥

3. अन्यत्रेति । अ इ उण्सूत्रस्थभाष्यप्रदीपोद्द्योतादावित्यर्थः ॥ Chitprabhâ.

See Bhâshya on P. I., 1, 1: उभयमिदं गुणेषूक्तं भेदका अभेदका इति । किं पुनरत्र न्याय्यम् । अभेदका गुणा इत्येव न्याय्यम् । कुत एतत् । यदयमस्थिदधिसक्थ्यक्ष्णामनङुदात्त इत्युदात्तग्रहणं करोति तज्ज्ञापयत्याचार्योऽभेदका गुणा इति । यदि भेदका गुणाः स्युरुदात्तमेवोच्चारयेत् । यदि तर्ह्यभेदका गुणा अनुदात्तादिरन्तोदात्ताच्च यदुच्यते तस्य स्वरितादेः स्वरितान्ताच्च प्राप्नोति । नैष दोषः । आश्रीयमाणो गुणो भेदको भवति, तद्यथा शुक्लमालभेत कृष्णमालभेत तत्र यः शुक्लं आलब्धव्ये कृष्णमालभते न हि तेन यथोक्तं कृतं भवति ॥

Kaiyata:..... उदात्तमेवेति । तस्माद्गुणरहितस्योच्चारणाभावान्नान्तरीयकत्वादुच्चार्यमाणोऽपि गुणः प्रयत्नमन्तरेण न विवक्षित इत्यर्थः । यद्येवं कथमन्यत्रोक्तमुदात्तनिपातनं करिष्यत इति यावता तत्रापि विवक्षा प्राप्नोति । नैष दोषः । तत्रापि स्थानेऽन्तरतमवचनादादेशस्य यः स्वरः प्राप्तस्तस्मिन्नुच्चारयितव्य उदात्तोच्चारणं प्रयत्नेन विवक्षार्थं विज्ञायते । एवमनुनासिकस्य प्रयत्नाधिक्येनोच्चारणं तद्विवक्षार्थमेव । उच्चः ऊँ इति यथा । अन्ये त्वाहुः । एकश्रुत्या सूत्राणि पठ्यन्त इति क्वचिदुदात्तोच्चारणं तद्विवक्षार्थमिति ॥

PARIBHÂSHÂ CX.

One might say that, although in सर्वनामन्, as put down in P. I., 1, 27, (the initial न् of नामन्) has (contrary to P. VIII., 4, 3) not been changed to ण्, yet in the ordinary language the form with ण् ought to be (considered) the correct form. (The author of the Paribhâshâs) says therefore:

P. CX: When forms (which are contrary to the ordinary rules of grammar) are put down (in a rule, those ordinary rules) are superseded thereby altogether;[1]

for (those forms) are so put down, while (by the ordinary rules of grammar which apply in their formation,) they should necessarily have been formed differently.[2] It should be understood that, although the word पुराण which is put down in P. IV., 3, 105, should (by this Paribhâshâ) have superseded (the rule P. IV., 3, 23 which would teach the formation of) the word पुरातन, it has not done so, because the latter is (put down) among (the words) पृषोदर etc. (in P. VI., 3, 109); according to others पुराण belongs to (the words) पृषोदर etc. as well as पुरातन. This (Paribhâshâ) is found in the Bhâshya[3] on the rule P. I., 1, 27. To say that (the ordinary rules of grammar) are not necessarily superseded by the fact that forms (contrary to them) are put down (in a rule),[4] is contrary to the Bhâshya.

1. When सर्वनामन् is in P. I., 1, 27 put down with dental न्, while the latter according to P. VIII., 4, 3 should have been changed to ण्, this shows that the rule P. VIII., 4, 3 is not to be applied in the case of सर्वनामन्. The word निपातन has been explained above pag. 497.

2. P. तथा च येननाप्राप्तिमूलकत्वमस्या इति भावः. See above pag. 321.

3. See Bhâshya on P. I., 1, 27: इह सर्वनामानीति पूर्वपदात्संज्ञायामगः [८. ४. ३] इति णत्वं प्राप्नोति । तस्य प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः । सर्वनामसंज्ञायां निपातनाण्णत्वाभावः । सर्वनामसंज्ञायां निपातनाण्णत्वं न भविष्यति । किमेतन्निपातनं नाम । अथ कः प्रतिषेधो नाम । अविशेषेण किंचिदुक्त्वा विशेषेण नेत्युच्यते । तत्र व्यक्तमाचार्यस्याभिप्रायो गम्यत इदं न भवतीति । निपातनमप्येवंजातीयकमेव । अविशेषेण णत्वमुक्त्वा विशेषेण निपातनं क्रियते । तत्र व्यक्तमाचार्यस्याभिप्रायो गम्यत इदं न भवतीति । ननु च निपातनाच्चाणत्वं स्यादथाप्राप्तं च णत्वम् । .... बाधकान्येव हि निपातनानि भवन्ति ॥

4. See Si. Kau. I., pag. 525.

PARIBHÂSHÂ CXI.

One might say that, as (*e. g.* in the formation of the 3. Plur. of the Red. Perf. Par. of) उख् where this root is reduplicated (*i. e.* changed to उखुख्), the (rule P. VII., 4, 59 by which) the vowel of a reduplicative syllable is shortened, cannot be applied before (the change of उखुख् to उ+उख् and ऊख्), because (the vowel उ of the reduplicative syllable) is short already, it would have to be applied after (उखुख्) has by P. VII., 4, 60 been changed (to उ+उख्) and this (to ऊख्) by P. VI., 1, 101, (the result of which would be उखुः, instead of the correct form ऊखुः.[1] The author of the Paribhâshâs) says therefore :

P. CXI: The rules of grammar are like the rain (in this that they are) applied (both where they produce a change and where they do not, just as the rain falls upon that which already is full of water as well as upon that which is empty).

When accordingly the rule P. VII., 4, 59 has been applied to (the vowel उ of the reduplicative syllable of उखुख्), although (that vowel) is short already, it cannot be applied again (after उखुख् has been changed to ऊख्), for there is a maxim that in (the formation of) one and the same form a rule is applied only once. This[2] is expressed in the Bhâshya on the rule P. I., 2, 9 in the words 'surely (we can say that) a rule may effect what

1. See Si. Kau. II., pag. 45.

2. P. इयं च शब्दान्तरेण भाष्यारूढेत्याह । तदुक्तमिति । दृष्टान्तेन लोकसिद्धत्वमस्या दर्शितम् ॥

See Bhâshya on P. I., 2, 9: कृतकारि खल्वपि शास्त्रं पर्जन्यवत् । तद्यथा पर्जन्यो यावदूनं पूर्णं च सर्वमभिवर्षति ॥ The same words occur in the Bhâshya on P. VI., 1, 127.

is effected (already), resembling therein the rain (which falls upon that which is filled with water as well as upon that which is empty)', *i. e.* that it *e. g.* may make a vowel short though the latter be short already.

Nor can one object that there is nothing to prove (the correctness of the maxim) that in (the formation of) one and the same form a rule is applied only once; for while (in the absence of that maxim) we might have formed (all the three forms सँस्कर्ता or संस्कर्ता, सँस्स्कर्ता or संस्स्कर्ता, and सँस्स्स्कर्ता or संस्स्स्कर्ता *without* the rule P. VIII., 3, 5, *viz.* the first) with one स् by dropping (the म् of सम्+स्कर्ता) in accordance with (the rule) समो वा लोपमेके, (the second) with two स् by doubling (the स् of स्कर्ता in सँस्कर्ता or संस्कर्ता by P. VIII., 4, 47, and the third) with three स् by again doubling (the first स् of स्कर्ता in सँस्स्कर्ता or संस्स्कर्ता) by the same rule, the very (circumstance that Pâṇini has given the) rule VIII., 3, 5 proves (the existence of that maxim;[1] it is) besides (proved by the fact) that it has been distinctly stated in the Bhâshya[2] on P. VI., 1,

1. See Si. Kau. I., pag. 66. When the maxim is adopted, we are not allowed to apply the rule P. VIII., 4, 47 twice, and we cannot account for the three forms सँस्कर्ता, सँस्स्कर्ता, and सँस्स्स्कर्ता, without the rule P. VIII., 3, 5. By the rule समो वा लोपमेके we obtain सँस्कर्ता, by P. VIII., 3, 5 सँस्स्कर्ता, and by P. VIII., 4, 47 सँस्स्स्कर्ता.

2. See the Bhâshya on P. VI., 1, 108: कार्यकृतत्वाद्वा | अथवा सकृत्कृतं पूर्वत्रमिति कृत्वा पुनर्नं भविष्यति तद्यथा वसन्ते ब्राह्मणोऽग्निनादधीतेति सकृदाधाय कृतः शास्त्रार्थ इति कृत्वा पुनः प्रवृत्तिर्नं भवति ॥

In the Bhâshya on P. VII., 2, 1 the maxim has not been distinctly stated, but the author of the Bhâshya must have adopted it, because (in the formation of अवोदाम् etc). he allows the rule which teaches the substitution of Vṛiddhi to apply only once; he states that Vṛiddhi is substituted first for the अ of वह्, that subsequently औ is substituted for that Vṛiddhi by P. VI., 3, 112, and that afterwards Vṛiddhi cannot be

108, VII., 2, 1 etc.; (and) from the Bhâshya[1] on P. VII., 2, 1 we learn that, so far as this (maxim is concerned), a change which a form may undergo does not render the latter a different form. More hereof elsewhere.[2]

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again substituted for ओ, notwithstanding, as we may add, that the original form might be considered to have become a different form by the substitution of ओ.

1. ननु लक्ष्ये लक्षणस्येति न्यायस्य प्रामाणिकत्वेऽपि प्रकृते विकारकृतलक्ष्यभेदादप्राप्ता-वुक्तदोषस्तदवस्थ एवात आह । अत्रेति । लक्ष्य इति । प्रोक्तन्याय इत्यर्थः ॥ विकारकृत इति पाठः । विकारागमकृत इत्यपाठ आगमकृतलक्ष्यभेदाङ्गीकारात्तद्वाप्यात्तदलाभाच्च ॥ भाष्या-दिति । तल ह्युदवोदामित्यादावोत्वात्परत्वाद्वृद्धत्व [७.२.३] इति वृद्धौ वर्णैपदसामर्थ्येनौत्वे-नेष्टं साधितम् (See P. VI., 3, 112) । अन्यथा पुनर्वृद्ध्यापत्त्या भाष्यसंगतिः स्यादेव ॥ P.—Râghavendra reads विकारागमकृतः and explains: आगमेति । तेन सर्वेषा-मित्यत्र सुटि कृते न पुनः सुट् । भूयादित्यादौ तु स्थानिभेदात्पुनःपुनर्लोपः । एवं चात्र लक्ष्यपदेन साक्षात्कार्यभागेव गृह्यत इति तत्त्वम् ॥

2. अन्यत्र *i. e.* उद्द्योतादौ, P.; शब्दरत्नादौ, Chitprabhâ.

PARIBHÂSHÂ CXII.

(P. VII., 2, 44 enjoins the optional addition of the augment इट् to *ârdhadhâtuka* affixes commencing with one of the letters contained in the Pratyâhâra वल्, after roots characterized by an indicatory क; and P. VII., 2, 59 prohibits the addition of इट् to *ârdhadhâtuka* affixes commencing with स्, after the roots स्यन्द् etc., *in the absence of the Âtmanepada-terminations.* Such being the case,) one might say that *e. g.* in (the formation of) the Simple Fut. Par. of the root स्यन्द्, (characterized by the Anubandha क), इट् ought (by the former rule) to be optionally prefixed (to the affix स्य), because (the rule P. VII., 2, 44 which enjoins

its optional addition) is *antaranga* in regard to P. VII., 2, 59 which prohibits इट्, the latter rule being *bahiranga* because (the taking effect of it) depends on the absence of any reasons for the Âtmanepada-terminations.[1] (The author of the Paribhâshâs) says therefore :

P. CXII : Surely[2] prohibitory rules possess greater force;

viz. greater force even[3] than (rules which are) *antaranga*[4] (in regard to them) or than (rules) on which their own existence is dependent, (*i. e.* rules in the absence of which they themselves would not have been given.[5] What results from this Paribhâshâ so far as the prohibitory rule P. VII., 2, 59 is concerned, cannot be said to result already from the employment of the word चतुर्थ्यः in that rule, for) चतुर्थ्यः has been added (to वृद्ध्यः) simply for the sake of clearness; and herewith it agrees, when that word is in the Bhâshya rejected as superfluous.—As then (by this Paribhâshâ a prohibitory rule possesses greater force even than a rule

1. P. सकेति । सकारादित्वरूपो यो विशेषस्तदपेक्षत्वादित्यर्थः । ननु तलापि (*i. e.* in P. VII., 2, 44) वलादित्वापेक्षत्वेन समत्वमत आह । आत्मन इति । इति केचित् ॥ वस्तुतस्तु °तीत्यादावात्मनेपदनिमित्तत्वाभावानिमित्तत्वान्न वृद्ध्य इति पाठः । तत्र पूर्वनिमित्तकत्वस्योभयत्र तुल्यत्वादाह °वात्मनेपदेति । तथा चाधिकनिमित्तत्वेनात्र तत्त्वं बोध्यम् ॥

Bhairavamis'ra : एतच्चाल्पापेक्षमन्तरङ्गमिति प्राचीनरीत्या ॥ See above pag. 228.

2. P. चो ह्यर्थे । स चात्र हेतोः प्रसिद्धत्ववाचकः । स चानुपदमेव व्यक्तीभविष्यति ॥ See below.

3. अन्तरिति । अन्तरङ्गादुपजीव्याच्चेत्यर्थः । अपिः परादिसमुच्चायकः ॥ P.

4. Accordingly the prohibitory rule P. VII., 2, 59 supersedes in the above example the *antaranga* rule P. VII., 2, 44.

5. *E. g.* P. I., 1, 10 supersedes P. I., 1, 9 entirely, although it would not have been given if P. I., 1, 9 had not been given, or in other words, although it owes its existence to the fact that P. I., 1, 9 has been given. See below.

on which its own existence is dependent,) such terms as *savarṇa* etc. cannot be optionally assigned where (a rule) prohibiting them may be applicable.[1] (If the Paribhâshâ) on the other hand (did not convey the above meaning), it would, as has been fully shown in the Manjûshâ,[2] be difficult to say why those (terms) should not be optionally assigned (where a rule prohibiting them might be applicable); for the rule that enjoins them would, in accordance with the doctrine of the Mîmânsakas, possess greater force (than the prohibitory rule) because the latter owes its existence to the former, which on that account ought not to be entirely superseded (by the latter). Owing to the fact (however, that such a rule is superseded entirely by a prohibitory rule) the rule P. I., 1, 32 really serves a purpose[3] notwithstanding (the existence of the prohibitory rule) P. I., 1, 31.—What[4] proves the validity of this (Paribhâshâ), is the circumstance that (prohibitory rules) are applied for the purpose of preventing the taking effect of rules which enjoin (that which is prohibited by the former.) It is found in the Bhâshya[5] on P. I., 1, 63 and III., 1, 30.

1. *I. e.* One cannot say *e. g.* that a vowel and a consonant *are savarṇa* by P. I., 1, 9 and at the same time *not savarṇa* by P. I., 1, 10, or in other words, that they are *optionally savarṇa*; for P. I., 1, 10 supersedes by the present Paribhâshâ P. I., 1, 9 entirely.

2. मञ्जूषायां नञ्वादे. P.

3. Were the prohibitory rule P. I., 1, 31 to supersede P. I., 1, 27 only *optionally*, then the rule P. I., 1, 32 would be superfluous. P. adds: न च नियमार्थं तदिति वाच्यं विधिनियमसंभवे विधेरेव ज्यायस्त्वादिति भावः ॥

4. इयं च परिभाषा लोकसिद्धन्यायमूलिकेत्याह । विध्युन्मूलनायेति । प्राप्तस्य विधेर्निवर्तनायेत्यर्थः । एतेन येननाप्राप्तन्यायेन विधिशास्त्रस्य निषेधशास्त्रेण बाध इति दर्शितम् । लोकेऽपि यस्योन्मूलनाय यस्य प्रसक्तिर्भवति ततस्तस्य बलवत्त्वं कंसकृष्णस्येव ॥. Bhairavamiśra.

5. Bhâshya on P. I., 1, 63: प्रतिषेधाश्च बलीयांसो भवन्ति; on P. III., 1, 30 एवमप्युभयोः सावकाशयोः प्रतिषेधस्य बलीयस्त्वात्प्रतिषेधः प्राप्नोति.

PARIBHÂSHÂ CXIII.

One might say that the term *Pratyaya* which implies that that which is termed so, conveys a meaning, ought properly not to be applied to those (affixes) which convey no meaning whatever.[1] (The author of the Paribhâshâs) says therefore :

P. CXIII : Pratyayas or affixes, to which no meaning has been assigned (in grammar), convey the meaning of the (bases) to which they (are added).

As we hold (not only that a Pratyaya *conveys* a meaning, but hold) likewise[2] that that the meaning of which *is conveyed* by the base (to which it is added), too may be termed a Pratyaya, it cannot be improper to apply the term Pratyaya to the latter (*i. e.* to affixes which convey no meaning of their own). स्वार्थे (in this Paribhâshâ) means, that they convey the meaning of their bases.[3] What[4] gives rise to the present (Paribhâshâ) is this: when (Pâṇini) adopts so long a technical term (as प्रत्यय), his doing so shows, that (what is denoted by that term) must, (in accordance with the etymological meaning of the latter, necessarily convey) a meaning;[5] and as no other (meaning) can be conveyed (by the

1. Such as क in P. V., 4, 28.

2. *Viz.* in accordance with the Bhâshya on P. III., 1, 1 : प्रत्यय इति महती संज्ञा क्रियते संज्ञा च नाम यतो न लघीयः । कुत एतत् । लघ्वर्थं हि संज्ञाकरणम् । तत्र महत्याः संज्ञायाः करण एतत्प्रयोजनमन्वर्थसंज्ञा यथा विज्ञायेत प्रत्याययतीति प्रत्ययः । यदि प्रत्याययतीति प्रत्ययोऽविकादीनां प्रत्ययसंज्ञा न प्राप्नोति न हि ते किंचित्प्रत्याययन्ति । एवं तर्हि प्रत्यास्यत इति प्रत्ययः । एवमपि सनादीनां न प्राप्नोति । एवं तर्ह्युभयसाधनोऽयं कर्तृसाधनः कर्मसाधनश्च ॥

3. *I. e.* स्व stands in the sense of स्वीय.

4. अस्या न्यायसिद्धत्वमाह । महेति ॥. P.

5. See also above pag. 95 and note 1.

affixes spoken of in this Paribhâshâ, they must convey the meaning of the bases to which they are added). This (Paribhâshâ) is found in the Bhâshya on P. III., 2, 4 and other rules.[1]

1. *Viz.* P. III., 3, 19 ; III., 4, 9 etc.

PARIBHÂSHÂ CXIV.

P. CXIV : From (a rule which we have obtained by) taking part (of a rule) as a separate rule, we (are allowed to) derive (only) such results as may be desirable.

I. e. we (are allowed to) derive (from such a rule) only such results as may be desirable, but we must not derive (from it) any results that may be undesirable; for, and this proves (the correctness of this Paribhâshâ), the new rule obtained in such a manner is shown to be not universally valid by the fact that there exists a second rule which teaches the same (thing) as the (new rule).[1]

1. *E. g.* If the new rule आद्ययम्, which we obtain by taking आद्ययम् of P. II., 1, 6 as a separate rule (See Si. Kau. I., pag. 321), were universally valid, Pânini's rule II., 1, 6 would be superfluous; the existence of Pânini's rule II., 1, 6 shows that the new rule आद्ययम् is not universally valid, and we are accordingly allowed to derive from the latter only such results as may be desirable.

PARIBHÂSHÂ CXV.

P. CXV: (In the employment) of synonyms the question as to their shortness or length is not taken into consideration.[1]

This is shown by the fact that in some rules अन्यतरस्याम् has been employed (by Pâṇini), in others विभाषा, and again in others वा.[2]

1. Elsewhere it *is* taken into consideration and shorter terms are employed in preference to longer ones. See Par. CXXII.

2. If the shortness or length of these synonyms had been taken into consideration by Pâṇini, he would everywhere have employed वा instead of अन्यतरस्याम् and विभाषा.

PARIBHÂSHÂ CXVI.

P. CXVI: What is established by a Jnâpaka, is not universally (true).

I. e. When we are left to infer something which should have been distinctly stated, this is done to show that (what is inferred so) is not universally true; accordingly the import (of this Paribhâshâ) is this that we are not to derive from a Paribhâshâ which is established by a Jnâpaka, any results that may be undesirable. This[1] is suggested also in the Bhâshya on the rule P. IV., 1, 1 and elsewhere. The (word) Jnâpaka denotes here

1. Chitprabhâ: नन्वियं न भाष्यसंमता तत्र क्ताप्यदर्शनादित्यतो भाष्यसंमतत्वमाह। भाष्ये ऽपीति। ङ्याप्सूत्रादौ। तत्र हि प्रातिपदिकग्रहण इति परिभाषां समर्थयिता व्याख्याय ततोऽनिष्टप्रसङ्गेषु दर्शितेषु प्रतिविधेयं दोषेष्वित्युक्त्वा ध्वनितम्॥ See above Par. LXXI.

by implication also a Nyâya or maxim from ordinary life. When some (rules) such as P. I., 1, 56 have been actually given (by Pâṇini), although they are established by Jnâpakas and Nyâyas, they must be understood (to have been given by him) for the purpose of informing us that other rules[1] (which are similarly established but have not been actually given by him) are not universally valid; (in the case namely of the above-mentioned rule P. I., 1, 56, what has been stated by Pâṇini in the words) स्थानिवदादेशः, is established by the general maxim according to which one who takes the place of somebody else takes upon himself also the functions of the latter; and the (restriction) अनल्विधौ of the same (rule) is established by a Jnâpaka.[2]

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1 अन्येषाम् *i. e.* परिभाषार्थानाम् P.

2. *Viz.* by the employment in P. II., 4, 36 of ल्यप् which would be superfluous if the restriction अनल्विधौ did not exist. See the Bhâshya on P. I., 1, 56, and also above Par. LIV.

PARIBHÂSHÂ CXVII.

One might say that, as *e. g.* in the case of द्रोग्धा or द्रोदा the substitution (by P. VIII., 2, 33) of ग् (or द् for ह् and the subsequent operations by which द्रोग्धा or द्रोदा are formed out of द्रोह्+ता) are (by P. VIII., 2, 1) *asiddha* (in regard to the doubling of द्रोग्धा or द्रोदा by P. VIII., 1, 4,—in other words, that, as both द्रोग्धा and द्रोदा are in regard to P. VIII., 1, 4 still equivalent to द्रोह्+ता), one would (in case द्रोग्धा or द्रोदा should have to be doubled by P. VIII., 1, 4, really) have to double (द्रोह्+ता, and that when द्रोह्+ता should thus have been changed to द्रोह्+ता द्रोह्+ता,) one would have the option of changing one (द्रोह्+ता) to द्रोग्धा and

the other to द्रोदा (by P. VIII., 2, 33 etc.[1] The author of the Paribhâshâs) says therefore:

P. CXVII: (An operation) which by P. VIII., 2, 1 would (have to) be (considered as) *asiddha* (in regard to an operation taught in a preceding rule), is (contrary to P. VIII., 2, 1) *not* (considered *asiddha*, when the preceding rule teaches) that something is doubled.[2]

It is characteristic of this (Paribhâshâ) that it is applicable in the case of any rule which may occur in the three last chapters of Pâṇini's grammar; (in reality) however it (is applied) only, where different forms might result, in case (the rule which teaches the doubling were to take effect) *before* or *after* (the taking place of the operation taught in the three last chapters of Pâṇini's grammar; and) it has (accordingly) *e. g.* in (the formation of) कृष्णर्द्धि (from कृष्णर्ध्+धि) no concern (with the substitution of द for ध् taught in P. VIII., 4, 53), *viz.* because there arises no difference of form, whether the doubling (taught in P. VIII., 4, 46) takes place before or after the substitution by P. VIII., 4, 53 of द् (for the first ध् of कृष्णर्ध्+धि).[3] More hereof elsewhere.[4]

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1. The result hereof would be द्रोग्धाद्रोदा or द्रोदाद्रोग्धा, as well as द्रोग्धाद्रोग्धा and द्रोदाद्रोदा.

2. यत्पूर्वासिद्धीयं शास्त्रं तदाद्धित्व इत्युपतिष्ठत इत्यर्थः. P.

3. In other words, because the result is the same in the end, whether the first ध् of कृष्णर्ध्+धि or the द् of कृष्णर्द्धि is doubled by P. VIII,, 4, 46. See Si. Kau. I., pag. 42.

4. अन्यत्र *i. e.* शेखरादौ. P.—The Paribhâshâ is *anitya*; see Si. Kau. II., pag. 115.

This (Paribhâshâ) is found in the Bhâshya[1] on the rule P. VIII., 1, 1.

1. See Bhâshya on P. VIII., 1, 1: यदि तर्हि स्थाने द्विर्वचनं राजाराजा वाग्याक् पदस्येति नलोपादीनि न सिध्यन्ति । इदमिह संप्रधार्यं द्विर्वचनं क्रियतां नलोपादीनीति किमत्र कर्तव्यम् । परत्वान्नलोपादीनि । पूर्वत्रासिद्धे नलोपादीनि सिद्धासिद्धयोश्च नास्ति संप्रधारणा । एवं तर्हि पूर्वत्रासिद्धीयमद्विर्वचन इति वक्ष्यामि । तच्चावश्यं वक्तव्यम् । किं प्रयोजनम् । विभाषिताः प्रयोजयन्ति । द्रोग्धाद्रोग्धा द्रोदाद्रोदेति ॥. See also the Bhâshya on P. VI., 1, 9.

PARIBHÂSHÂ CXVIII.

One might say that, instead of saying *e. g.* गोष्वश्वेषु च स्वामी or (गवामश्वानां च स्वामी 'possessing cattle and horses'), one ought to be allowed to say also गोष्वश्वानां च स्वामी, because (स्वामिन्) governs by the rule P. II., 3, 39 both the Genitive and the Locative case. (The author of the Paribhâshâs) says therefore:

P. CXVIII: When one form has been employed, a second or third (different) form cannot be employed (in the same sense).[1]

This maxim is applicable in cases where the employment of another form might create the impression of its being employed in a different sense.[2] More hereof elsewhere. The

1. If then in the above phrase we employ गो in the Locative, we must employ अश्व too in the Locative; and if we employ the Genit. of गो, we must likewise employ the Genit. of अश्व.

See P.: यतोऽत इति शेषः । यत एकस्या आकृतेः स्वरूपस्य प्रयोगश्चरितः कृतोऽतो द्वितीयस्यास्तृतीयस्याश्च नेत्यर्थः । चक्षतुर्थ्यादिसमुच्चायकः ॥

2. अस्ति चात्र गोष्वश्वानां चेत्युक्तेऽश्वानां स्वामी गोषु निष्ठतीत्यर्थान्तरस्य तादृशी प्रतिपत्तिरिति भावः । तथा च लोकसिद्धप्रतिपत्तिलाघवमूलकोऽयं न्याय इति बोध्यम् ॥ तदाहेत्यन्यत्रेति । उदाहरणादावित्यर्थः ॥. P.

(Paribhâshâ) is found in the Bhâshya[1] on the rule P. III., 1, 40.

1. See Bhâshya on P. III., 1, 40: लिट्परार्थं वा । लिट्परार्थे तर्हि कृञोऽनुप्रयोगवचनं क्रियते । लिट्परस्येवानुप्रयोगो यथा स्यादन्यपरस्य मा भूदिति । ....एतदपि नास्ति प्रयोजनम् । एकस्या आकृतेश्चरितः प्रयोगो द्वितीयस्यास्तृतीयस्याश्च न भविष्यति । तद्यथा । गोषु स्वाम्यश्वेषु चेति । न हि भवति गोषु चाश्वानां च स्वामीति ॥

Kaiyaṭa: वेदलौकिकप्रसिद्धोऽयं न्यायः । ..... तस्माद्योऽर्थो यथा शब्दाकृत्या प्रतिपादयितुमुपक्रान्तस्तथैवासौ निर्वर्त्तितो न त्वन्यथा शब्दाकृत्येत्यर्थः ॥ एवं हि प्रतिपत्तिलाघवं भवति ॥ See also Kaiyaṭa on P. VIII., 1, 1.

PARIBHÂSHÂ CXIX.

(When) *e. g.* in (the formation of) the Red. Perf. Par. of व्यध् (this root has been reduplicated or, in other words, changed to व्यव्यध्, two rules are applicable to this व्यव्यध्, *viz.* P. VI., 1, 17 which teaches the substitution of Samprasâraṇa in the reduplicative syllable, and P. VII., 4, 60 which teaches the elision of the consonant य् of the same syllable; now) one might say that (in this case P. VII., 4, 60 ought to take effect first) because it follows upon (the rule VI., 1, 17, and that) when the य् of the reduplicative syllable has accordingly been elided, Samprasâraṇa ought (by P. VI., 1, 17) to be substituted for the (remaining) व् (of the same syllable.[1] The author of the Paribhâshâs) says therefore:

P. CXIX: A (substitution of) Samprasârana and the operation dependent on it possess greater force (than other operations which are simultaneously applicable).[2]

1. The result hereof would be उव्याध instead of विव्याध.

2. Accordingly Samprasârana is by P. VI., 1, 17 and P. VI., 1, 37

The (operation) dependent on (Samprasâraṇa spoken of in this Paribhâshâ) is the substitution by P. VI., 1, 108 of Samprasâraṇa alone for Samprasâraṇa and any vowel by which it may be followed.—In reality (however) this (Paribhâshâ) is, as appears from the Bhâshya[1] on P. VI., 1, 17, superfluous, because the (substitution of Samprasâraṇa for the य् of the reduplicative syllable of व्यध्, in preference to the elision of that consonant,) results from the circumstance that the word उभयेषाम् which is employed in the rule P. VI., 1, 17, conveys the meaning that (in the reduplicative syllable) of both (वच् etc. and ग्रह् etc. the substitution of) Samprasâraṇa *only* shall take place; and from the Bhâshya on the same (rule) we see that whatever else (is supposed) to result (from this Paribhâshâ), can likewise be accounted

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substituted for the य् of the reduplicative syllable of व्यध् in preference to the elision of that consonant by P. VII., 4, 60 (*i. e.* व्यध् becomes वि-अ व्यध्), and subsequently this Samprasâraṇa इ is by P. VI., 1, 108 substituted for इ itself and the following अ (*i. e.* वि अ व्यध् is changed to विध्यध्).

1. See Bhâshya on P. VI., 1, 17: इदं तर्ह्युभयेषामिति ग्रहणस्य प्रयोजनम्। उभयेषामभ्यासस्य संप्रसारणमेव यथा स्यादन्यन्माप्नोति तन्मा भूदिति। किं चान्यत्प्राप्नोति। हलादिःशेषः। अभ्यासस्य संप्रसारणं हलादिःशेषाद्विप्रतिषेधेनेति वक्ष्यति स पूर्वविप्रतिषेधो न पठितव्यो भवति॥ अभ्याससंप्रसारणं हलादिःशेषाद्विप्रतिषेधेन .....विध्यध्। विध्यधि। अभ्याससंप्रसारणं भवति पूर्वविप्रतिषेधेन। स तर्हि पूर्वविप्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः। न वा। संप्रसारणाश्रयबलीयस्त्वादन्यत्रापि। न वा वक्तव्यः। किं कारणम्। संप्रसारणाश्रयस्य बलीयस्त्वादन्यत्रापि। संप्रसारणं संप्रसारणाश्रयं च बलीयो भवतीति वक्तव्यम्। अन्यत्रापि नावश्यमिहैव वक्तव्यम्। किं प्रयोजनम्। प्रयोजनं रमाक्लेयिङ्ण्यणः। रम्। भृष्टः। भृष्टवान्। संप्रसारणं च प्राप्नोति रम्भावश्च। परत्वाद्रम्भावः स्यात्। संप्रसारणं बलीयो भवतीति वक्तव्यं संप्रसारणं यथा स्यात् (P. VI., 1, 16 and VI., 4, 47)। .... नैतानि सन्ति प्रयोजनानि। यत्तावदुच्यते रमिनीदमिह संप्रसार्यं रम्भावः क्रियतां संप्रसारणमिति किमत्र कर्तव्यम्। परत्वाद्रम्भावो नित्यं संप्रसारणमित्यादि॥

for without it. Nor[1] (does the rejection of this Paribhâshâ entail) any fault in the case of (rules) like P. VI., 1, 31, for the Locatives संश्वङोः etc. (of those rules do not convey the sense 'when सन् and चङ् follow', but they convey the meaning) 'where (सन् etc.) may be added (at some time or other)'. More hereof elsewhere.[2]

1. Cf. Si. Kau. II., pag. 190.— See Bhairavamis'ra: ननु णिजन्तात्सुङि चङि द्वित्वे वृद्ध्यायोरन्तरङ्गत्वात्संप्रसारणात्पूर्वं प्रवृत्तावच्छ्रुशब्दादित्यस्यासिद्धिरत आह । णौ चेति । एवं च द्वित्वात्प्राक् संप्रसारणे ततो णिचि चङि वृद्धावादेशे णौ चङि [७.४.१] इति ह्रस्वेऽस्य सिद्धिरिति भावः ॥ If the meaning of संश्वङोः were संश्वङोः परयोः, Samprasâraṇa would be *bahiranga* in regard to the Vṛiddhi etc. caused by णिच्.

2. अन्यत्र । उद्द्योतादावित्यर्थः । वस्तुनोऽभ्यासविकारेषु बाध्यबाधकभावाभावेनेष्टानुरोधेन कार्यप्रवृत्त्येष्टसिद्ध्या व्यर्थादौ न दोष इत्यपि बोध्यम् । P. See Par. LXVI.

PARIBHÂSHÂS CXX.,1—3.

(Some grammarians adopt the two following Paribhâshâs):

P. CXX., 1: A derivative denotes sometimes the original (from which it is derived).

This, (they say), accounts for the fact that the term ह्वा in P. I., 3, 30 denotes (the root) ह्वेञ्.[1]

P. CXX., 2: (Whenever a term is employed which might denote) both something originally enunciated (in a grammatical treatise), and also something else that occurs in the ordinary language,

1. सिद्धिरिति । तथा च निह्नुयन इत्यादावात्मनेपदसिद्धिः ॥ P.

it should be taken to denote only that which is originally enunciated (in a grammatical treatise).

Accordingly, (they say, the expression 'a root commencing with द्') in P. VIII., 2, 32 denotes only such roots (commencing with द्) as are originally enunciated (in the Dhâtu-pâṭha)[1].

But all this is incorrect; for there is nothing to prove[2] (the existence of) these two (Paribhâshâs), and they have not been given in the Bhâshya; (on the contrary) the first (Paribhâshâ) is (distinctly) refuted by (the statement of the author of) the Bhâshya on the rule P. VI., 1, 16, 'that a derivative does *not* denote the original (from which it is derived).'[3] (The ह्वा)[4] *e. g.* (which has been employed) in P. I., 3, 30 (is not the derivative of ह्वे derived from the latter by P. VI., 1, 45, but) is a grammatical fiction (chosen by Pâṇini) to represent (the root) ह्वेञ्. Others (however say that ह्वा in P. I., 3, 30 can represent only the derivative ह्वा and) that the Âtmanepada-terminations (are accordingly by P. I., 3, 30 substituted after ह्वे) only where श्ना is substituted (for the final of the latter), because it has been clearly stated in the Bhâshya on the rule P. I., 1, 20, that (a term employed

1. *I. e.* it denotes *e. g.* दुह्, but not दामलिह्; see Si. Kau. I., pag. 146.

2. निर्मूलत्वात् *i. e.* ज्ञापकशून्यत्वात्. Bhairavamis'ra.

3. Explained by Kaiyaṭa: प्रकृत्या विकृतिर्गृह्यते स्थानिवद्भावान्न तु विकृत्या प्रकृतिर्भिन्नरूपत्वादिति भावः ॥

4. Chitprabhâ: नन्वेवं निसमुपविभ्यो ह्व इत्यादौ ह्व इति विकृतिग्रहणेन प्रकृतेरग्रहणात्तस्मादात्मनेपदानुपपत्तिरित्यत आह । निसमुपेति ॥ सौत्रेति । अशितीत्यस्य प्रसङ्ग्यप्रतिषेधत्वेऽपि ज्ञित्परत्वयोग्यस्यैव तेन तद्विधानात्प्रकृते न लक्षणवशसंपन्नत्वमात्मनेपदस्य भवतीति भावः । कृताकृतस्यानुकरणत्वमनभ्युपेत्य लक्षणवशसंपन्नत्वासंभवे सौत्रकल्पनम् ॥ वस्तुतस्त्वत्र युक्तं कृताकृतस्यैवानुकरणसंभवादित्याह । आकृतविषय इति ॥ तत्र हेतुमाह । प्रयोगस्थानामिति ॥

to represent something) can represent only what in the actual language is (uniform with it).

And as regards the latter (of these two Paribhâshâs), it has been adopted neither by the author of the Sûtras nor by the author of the Vârttikas, for both actually employ the word उपदेश 'original enunciation' in many (rules).[1] Nor has it been adopted by (the author of) the Bhâshya, for there is (a passage in) the Bhâshya on P. I., 1, 22 which runs thus:—'wherever here in grammar terms are employed that contain Anubandhas, they are meant to denote wordfoms which possess those Anubandhas;[2] now the wordform (which is meant to be denoted by a particular term) cannot be ascertained without reference to the actual language; and as then in the actual language wordforms that contain Anubandhas do not occur, we must (in order to ascertain what wordforms may be meant to be denoted by terms containing Anubandhas) have recourse to another language, *viz.* to the original enunciation (of the grammatical treatises)'; from this passage it is clear that (a term) denotes something (originally enunciated in a grammatical treatise only) when there is nothing in the ordinary language which could be denoted by it. (And the above passage from) the Bhâshya (must not be misunderstood to have reference only to terms) that contain Anubandhas, (for the author of the Bhâshya does not intend to restrict his statement to such terms only, but mentions them particularly) because (the terms तरप् etc.) of which he

1. See P. I., 3, 2; VI., 1, 45; VI., 4, 62 etc. The employment of the word उपदेश would have been superfluous if the Paribhâshâ had been adopted.

2. यत्रास्यैतदिति । यत्रास्यैतद्रूपमनुबन्धयुक्तं तत्र यसंज्ञेत्यादयर्थः । एवं चोपदेश एव यसंज्ञादि प्रयोगे तु स्थानिनद्वारैनैतदिति बोध्यम् ॥ P.

speaks (happen to be such terms).[1]—The term ददि in P. VIII., 2, 32 (in the case of which the second Paribhâshâ was supposed to be applicable) denotes *by implication* '(roots) which in an original enunciation commence with द्,' and consequently there can arise no fault (from the application of P. VIII., 2, 32, even when that Paribhâshâ is not adopted). More hereof elsewhere.[2]

(Some grammarians have said):

'One might say[3] that the several Vikaraṇas which are added (to roots) because the latter belong to particular classes, should be (added also to the Parasmai. Frequentative bases of those roots, and that accordingly *e. g.* the Vikaraṇa इयन् should be added) to the Parasmai. Frequent. base of गृध्, and (श्रम्) to the Parasmai. Frequent. base of भिद्; that similarly (when it might be forbidden to add the augment इट् to affixes after particular roots,) इट् should not be allowed to be (prefixed to affixes after the Parasmai. Frequent. bases of the same roots, and that it should accordingly not be) added *e. g.* after the Parasmai. Frequent. base of भिद्, because its addition after this root is forbidden by P. VII., 2, 10. (The author of the Paribhâshâs) says therefore:

P. CXX., 3: (Of operations which concern primitive roots there are) five (that do) not (take place) in case (those roots) are followed by यङ्लुक्;[4] they are: ((*a*) and (*b*,) an operation that may be taught in a rule) in which[5] (the primitive root) is put down

1. See also the Bhâshya on P. III., 1, 94, above pag. 43.

2. अन्यत्र *i. e.* उदयोनादौ. P.

3. See above Par. XCIII., 9.

4. Or, in other words, that do not concern the Parasmai. Frequent. bases of those roots.

5. यदिति यत्येत्यर्थेऽव्ययं यद्वा यच्छब्दस्वरूपं यत्येत्यस्य सर्वत्र संबन्धः. P.

with (the termination) ति, or with (the Vikaraṇa) श्नु; (*c*) (an operation that may be taught in a rule) in which (the primitive root) is put down with an Anubandha or Anubandhas (attached to it), as well as (an operation) which is stated (to concern generally all primitive roots) that have a particular Anubandha or particular Anubandhas (attached to them); (*d*) (an operation) that may concern a whole class (or group of primitive roots; and) (*e*) (an operation that may be taught in a rule) in which the word एकाच् 'monosyllabic' has been employed.[1]

Examples are (suggested for (*a*) by P. VIII., 4, 17 where हन्, या and वा are put down as) हन्ति, याति, वाति; (for (*b*) by) P. VII., 2, 49 where (भृ is put down as) भर; (for (*c*) by) P. VI., 4, 63 (where दा has the Anubandha ङ् attached to it), and (by) P. I., 3, 12 (which concerns generally all *anudâttet* and *ñit* roots; for (*d*) by) P. III., 1, 69 (which teaches the addition of श्यन् to the roots of the *divâdi* class; and for (*e*) by) P. VII., 2, 10 (एकाच उपदेशेऽनुदात्तात्).

(Contrary[2] to this Paribhâshâ a root) *is* reduplicated (before

1. For numerous examples see Si. Kau. II., pag. 211-219, where this Paribhâshâ has been frequently applied by Bhaṭṭojidikshita. See also Si. Kau. II., pag. 354.

2. नन्वेवं तत्र द्वित्वादिकं न स्यादत आह । द्वित्वमिति ॥ सनाद्यन्ता इत्यस्य प्रत्याख्यानादोष्ट । भूवादेति ॥ इति च धातुत्वं चेति पाठः ॥ गुणो यङ्लुकि । अन्यथाभ्यासाभावेन तदानर्थक्यं स्पष्टमेव । आदिना दीर्घोऽकित इत्यादिपरिग्रहः ॥ निषेधेति । एतत्परिभाषाबोध्यनिषेधेत्यर्थः ॥ अनित्यत्वस्य फलान्तरमाह । तेनेति । एतदनित्यत्वेनेत्यर्थः ॥ अनिरुक्तफलादिसमुच्चायकः ॥ अत एव । एतदनित्यत्वादेव ॥ किंचिदित्यस्य सर्वैलान्वयः । तथा च केषांचिदेव तत्प्रवृत्तिर्न तु सर्वेषामिति भावः ॥ P.

यङ्लुक्, notwithstanding that the word एकाच् has been employed in P. VI., 1, 1 and is valid in P. VI., 1, 9, and a Par. Frequent. base) *is* termed *Dhâtu* by P. III., 1, 32, or, (in case that rule be rejected,) by P. I., 3, 1, (notwithstanding that both those rules concern whole classes of roots); for (the existence of rules) like P. VII., 4, 82, (that teach changes of the reduplicative syllable of a root before यङ्लुक्, proves that a root *is* reduplicated before यङ्लुक्, and) renders (so) the prohibition (contained in this Paribhâshâ) not universally valid. On this account (*has* P. VIII., 2, 37 taken effect) *e. g.* in (the formation of) अजघर्ः (where the ग् of गृ) *has* (by it) been changed to घ्, although (that rule does contain the word एकाच्); and it is for the same reason that Kaiyaṭa on P. VII., 2, 14 reads (the third Pâda of this Paribhâshâ) यत्रैकाऽग्रहणं किंचित् (or, in other words, states that the above-mentioned operations only *sometimes* do not take place before यङ्लुक्).

(The existence of) this (Paribhâshâ) is indicated by the word एकाचः in the rule P. VII., 2, 10 the employment of which proves (that at any rate) part (of the Paribhâshâ must have been adopted by Pâṇini; did the Paribhâshâ) on the other hand (not exist), then एकाचः (in P. VII., 2, 10) would clearly be superfluous, because (the roots) which in the original enunciation are not monosyllabic, are all *udâtta*.'[1]

All this (can) likewise not (be admitted to be correct), for (the above Paribhâshâ) has not been given in the Bhâshya, and the word एकाचः (in P. VII., 2, 10 which was supposed to indi-

1. As all primitive roots which in the original enunciation contain *more than one vowel* are *udâtta*, they are excluded from P. VII., 2, 10 already by the words उदात्तयोऽनुदात्तात् of that rule; एकाचः is consequently superfluous unless it is admitted to indicate that P. VII., 2, 10 shall have no concern with the Par. Frequent. bases of roots.

cate the existence of it, because it would otherwise be superfluous,) is necessary (in that rule) to exclude (from it) वध, (the substitute for हन्). Nor can one object that, as the original (हन्) is monosyllabic in the original enunciation, (its substitute) वध may (likewise be regarded as) monosyllabic, (and that it therefore cannot be excluded from P. VII., 2, 10 by the word एकाचः); for when it is possible (for the expression एकाच उपदेशे in P. VII., 2, 10) to denote something which is actually enunciated as monosyllabic, (that expression) cannot, so far as regards the (prohibition of इट् taught in that rule), be taken to denote something which, (though it is itself actually enunciated as dissyllabic or polysyllabic), is substituted for something else which *is* enunciated as monosyllabic; besides (the words उपदेश एकाच्) denote that which in *any and every* original enunciation is monosyllabic. Moreover the word एकाचः (of P. VII., 2, 10 is necessary) for the subsequent (rule VII., 2, 11;) it is (namely) for (the validity of एकाचः) in P. VII., 2, 11, that (the addition of) इट् is not by that rule forbidden in (the formation of) जागरितवान् etc., notwithstanding that (जागृ) in the original enunciation does end with one of the vowels (contained in the Pratyâhâra) उक्. उपदेशे 'in the original enunciation', however, is valid in the latter rule in order that that rule may forbid the addition of इट् in the formation of forms like स्तीर्ण (from स्तॄ) etc. All this is clear from the Bhâshya etc.[1]

Now one might say: 'When in the Bhâshya, in order to account for the presence of इट् *e. g.* in the Future of the Âtmane. Frequent. base of भिद् (बेभिदिता), in (the formation of) which Lopa is substituted for the य (of बेभिद्य,[2] P. VII., 2, 10) is interpreted

1. See the Scholiasts on P. VII., 2, 10 and 11.
2. By P. VI., 4, 48 and 49.

to mean that "(इट् is not prefixed to an Ârdhadhâtuka) after a base which is actually monosyllabic and is in the original enunciation *anudâtta*," that interpretation is objected to on the ground that it would necessitate the formation of an additional rule by which to account for the absence of इट् in Desideratives like विभित्सति.[1] No similar objection[2] having been raised (in the Bhâshya) on the score of *Parasmai.* Frequent. bases, it follows that after the latter इट् *must* be added, (and it follows moreover that, as this addition of इट् in the Parasmai. Frequent. has not in the Bhâshya been accounted for in any way, the author of the Bhâshya must be supposed to have accounted for it by means of the above Paribhâshâ. Nor can one object that the addition of इट् in the Parasmai. Frequent. is accounted for in the Bhâshya by the above-mentioned interpretation of P. VII., 2, 10,) for the way in which the discussion is opened and ended (in the Bhâshya)[3] shows that that passage of the Bhâshya has reference only to the Âtmane.) not to the Parasmai. Frequent. base; besides if it had reference to (both the Âtmane. and) the Parasmai. Frequent. bases, (the Bhâshya,—while it does show a way in which we can dispense with the above-mentioned interpretation of P. VII., 2, 10 and yet account for the presence of इट् after the Âtmane. Frequent. base, *viz.* by the *Sthânivattva* of Lopa,—would be defective in not showing similarly how the presence of इट् can be accounted for in the Parasmai. Frequent. (when the above-mentioned interpretation of P. VII., 2, 10 is rejected).'

1. *Scil.* the base (विभिद्) of which is likewise not monosyllabic.

2. Such as यङ्लुक्कीट्प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः.

3. *Viz.* the discussion is opened thus: किं पुनः कारणमेवं विज्ञायते उपदेशेऽनुदात्तादिकाच: श्रूयमाणादिति । यङ्लोपार्थम् । यङ्लोपे मा भूदिति |, and it ends thus: अकारेण व्यवहितत्वान्न भविष्यति । ननु च लोपे कृते नास्ति व्यवधानम् । स्थानिवद्भावाद्व्यवधानमेव ।.

All this would however be futile; for as in the ordinary language those forms of the Parasmai. Frequent. in which इट् might be prefixed (to Ârdhadhâtuka affixes) are not used, and as in the Veda all rules are optional,[1] (the author of the Bhâshya) can (even when he, as we maintain, did not adopt the above Paribhâshâ) not (justly) be blamed for not having objected (to the above-mentioned interpretation of P. VII., 2, 10) on the score of Parasmai. Frequent. bases. (Had the author of the Bhâshya) on the other hand (been really of opinion that एकाच: in P. VII., 2, 10 is intended to show that that rule has no concern with the Parasmai. Frequent. bases of roots, and had he thus adopted at least a portion of the Paribhâshâ), then he would have had no reason for asking, why एकाच: has been employed (in P. VII., 2, 10), nor for answering that it is meant to exclude जागृ from the subsequent (rule VII., 2, 11) and वच from the rule under discussion.

Now one might say: '(When P. VII., 2, 10 teaches that an Ârdhadhâtuka shall not receive इट्), *Ârdhadhâtuka* necessarily postulates a *Dhâtu* or root, and the term एकाच् 'monosyllabic' (of that rule) qualifies accordingly the root; (in other words, P. VII., 2, 10 teaches, that इट् is not prefixed to an Ârdhadhâtuka after a monosyllabic root). Such being the case, forms like विभित्सति (do fall under P. VII., 2, 10, because) the latter portion (of the base विभिद्) which is termed root, [just as we have seen[2] from the Bhâshya on P. VII., 4, 9 that (when भस् by reduplication is changed to भस्+भस्) it is only the latter भस् that can be called the root भस्], *is* monosyllabic,—and the above passage from the Bhâshya (concerning forms like विभित्सति) is consequently incorrect.'[3]

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1. Par. XXXV.
2. See above Par. XCIII., 9; pag. 447.
3. एवं चैकदेशयुक्तित्वेन नोक्तार्थे साधकत्वमुक्तभाष्यस्येति भाव: ॥ P.

But this would likewise be wrong; for there is nothing to prove that (*e. g.* an Ârdhadhâtuka) does postulate (a root), and that (एकाच् 'monosyllabic' in P. VII., 2, 10) must be taken to qualify (the *root* so) postulated. (Nor would it be correct to say that, even when एकाच् should qualify the Anga or base,[1] विभित्सति would still fall under P. VII., 2, 10, because the latter *i. e.* radical portion of विभिद् *is* called Anga; for) the term *Anga* or) base is applicable only to the *whole* reduplicated form (विभिद्; this is clear from the Bhâshya[2] on P. VI., 1, 1 and has been considered in the S'abdendus'ekhara towards the end of the chapter which treats of the roots of the eighth class. The term *Dhâtu* or root, however, is applicable only to the latter *i. e.* radical portion (of a reduplicated form); it is for this reason that, when in the Bhâshya[3] (the words धातोरेकाचः) in P. VIII., 2, 37 are not considered as coordinate, but are explained to mean 'of the monosyllabic portion of a root,' (the author of) the Bhâshya, to prove the necessity of this interpretation, chooses the example (गदैम्), गर्धेप्, and does not choose as an example the more common word अजर्घाः.[4]

The absence, however, of (the Vikaraṇas) श्नम् श्यन् etc. in

1. *Viz.* because P. VII., 2, 10 stands in the Angâdhikâra.

2. See Bhâshya on P. VI., 1, 1: ननु चैकैकमत्राङ्गम्। समुदाये या वाक्यपरिसमाप्तिस्तयाङ्गसंज्ञा भविष्यति।; and Kaiyaṭa: एकैताङ्गसंज्ञा समुदायस्य न पृथगवयवयोः समुदायस्य प्राधान्यात्प्रधाने कार्यसंप्रत्ययात्.

3. See Bhâshya on P. VIII., 2, 32: धातोरिति नैषा दादिसमानाधिकरणषष्ठी दादेर्धातोरिति। का तर्हि। अवयवयोगैषा षष्ठी धातोर्यो दादिरवयव इति। सा चावश्यमवयवयोगा षष्ठी विज्ञेयोत्तरार्था। किं प्रयोजनम्। एकाचो वशो भष् झषन्तस्य स्ध्वोरिति हाप्यथा स्यात्। गर्धेभयतेरप्रत्ययः। गर्धेति॥

4. *Viz.* he does not give the example अजर्घाः (from गृध्), because the last syllable of this word is not a *portion* of a root, but is itself a root.

(Parasmai. Frequent. forms like) अजघः, बेभिदीति etc. is[1] accounted for (by the fact that) by (the rule) चर्करीतं च which we read in the *ad-ádi* (chapter of the Gaṇa-pâṭha, all Parasmai. Frequent. bases follow the rule of roots of the second class), from which it follows that there can be no occasion for the addition to a Parasmai. Frequent. base of the Vikaraṇas of any other class. And when (in Parasmai. Frequent. forms) that may be found in the Veda, certain other operations (which would have to take place in the case of primitive roots) have likewise not taken place, this should be explained by the circumstance that (those forms) *are* Vedic; in the ordinary language such (forms as would necessitate the adoption of the above Paribhâshâ) do not occur. And when (a primitive root) is put down (in a rule) *e. g.* with (the termination) ति or (the Vikaraṇa श्नम्), the fact of its having been so put down conveys as little any particular meaning as the fact that *e. g.* भू has been put down as भवति in the rule P. VII. 4, 73. More hereof elsewhere.[2]

1. *Scil.* without the above Paribhâshâ.

2. अन्यत्रेति । एकाच उपदेशेऽनुदात्तादिति सूत्रे शेखरादावित्यर्थः ॥ Chitprabhâ.

PARIBHÂSHÂ CXXI.

One might say that, (instead of making the two rules VII., 1, 61 रधिजभोरचि and 62 नेट्यलिटि रधेः, Pâṇini) should have made the (three) rules जभोऽचि, रधेश्च, and नेट्यलिटि, because (in doing so) he would not have been obliged to employ रधि twice. (The author of the Paribhâshâs) says therefore:

P. CXXI: To make two rules instead of one is more cumbrous than (to make only one rule,

even in case the formation of only one rule should necessitate the employment of) a greater number of words or of longer words (than that of two rules).

The cumbrousness is apparent from the fact that (the formation of two rules) would oblige us to ascertain the meaning of either rule separately.[1] Many however say that this (Paribhâshâ) has not been adopted in the Bhâshya,[2] and that it is contrary to the Bhâshya on[3] the rule P. VII., 1, 12; there namely it has been shown that the letter इ of the substitute इन (in P. VII., 1, 12) may be dispensed with just because we can make of the one rule (P. VII., 3, 105 आङि चापः) the two rules (आङि च and आपः).[4]

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1. योगविभागे सति वाक्यार्थबोधसिद्धयेऽधिकवाक्यसंपादकतिङन्तस्याप्यधिकस्य कल्पनायां प्रतिपत्तिगौरवमिति भावः ॥ Bhairavamis'ra.

2. तदनुक्तत्वादिति भावः ॥ P.

3. See Bhâshya on P. VII., 1, 12: किमर्थमिनादेश उच्यते न नादेश एवोच्येत । का रूपसिद्धिः । वृक्षेण प्लक्षेण । एवं योगविभागः करिष्यते । कथम् । इदमस्ति । बहुवचने झल्येत् [७.३.१०३] । ओसि च [१०४] । तत्र आङि च (first portion of 105) । आङि च परतोऽत एत्वं भवति । वृक्षेण प्लक्षेण । तत्र आपः (second portion of 105) । संबुद्धौ च [१०६] । आप आङि च ओसि चेति ॥

4. द्वौ सविग्रहणौ (*viz.* in P. VII., 1, 61 and 62) त्रैकयोगनिर्दिष्टानां क्वचिदेकदेशोऽप्यनुवर्तते [प० १८] इति परिभाषाया अनित्यत्वस्य सूचनाय । Bhairavamis'ra.

PARIBHÂSHÂ CXXII.

P. CXXII: Grammarians rejoice over the saving of (even)[1] the length of half a short vowel as much as over the birth of a son.

(The existence of) this (Paribhâshâ) is suggested in the Bhâshya[2] on the S'ivasûtras. 3 and 4. As regards this (Paribhâshâ), it has been suggested in the Bhâshya on the rules P. I., 2, 27, 41 etc., that the question raised is generally only, whether in a rule which is made up of several words, a word can be saved, but not, whether a Mâtrâ (or half a Mâtrâ) can be economized. For when the question is raised (in the Bhâshya) as to what difference it would make if (the term) हल् were employed in the latter rule (P. I., 2, 41) instead of (the term) अल्, (this question) is answered by stating that there would be no difference so far as the (greater or) smaller number of words might be concerned, because (हल् would necessitate the employment of) three words, and (अल् would) likewise (necessitate the employment of) three words; (if we namely were to read हल् in P. I., 2, 41) we should have हल् in that rule, and should be obliged to employ अण् and इच् in the rule P. II., 4, 58 (but might omit हल् in P. VI., 1, 68; and if we, on the other hand, were to read) अल् (in P. I., 2, 41), we should have this अल्, should be obliged to retain हल् in P. VI., 1, 68, but might in P. II., 4, 58 employ the one word अपृक्तस्य instead of (the two terms) अण् and इच्

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1. अर्धमात्रालाघवेनापि पुत्रोत्सवं मन्यन्ते किमुताधिकलाघवेनेत्यर्थः । P.

2. तत्र क्वेच इगित्यस्य प्रत्याख्यानायार्धैकारार्धौकारौ यदि स्यातां तर्हि तावेव लाघवादयमुपदिशेदित्युक्तम् । ताभ्यामुपदिष्टाभ्यां दीर्घप्लुतयोरपि प्रदेशेषु ग्रहणं सिध्यति । नन्वेवं मात्रिकयोरेव गुणसंज्ञा स्यात्तपरत्वादिति चेत् । न । तत्र दीर्घयोरेव स्वरूपेण निर्देशादिति कैयटः । एवमपि तत्र ह्रस्वपाठेऽर्धमात्रालाघवं भवतीति तदाकूतम् ॥ P.

We have said (above that the question raised is) *generally* (whether a word be saved, because sometimes the question whether a Mâtrâ or half a Mâtrâ be economized, *is* raised as well. The author of) the Bhâshya[1] namely on the S'ivasûtra ऌण् makes the following statement: 'when (Pâṇini, in order to denote इ and उ,) employs in the rule VI., 4, 77 the term य्वोः, where (इ and उ) have been changed into the corresponding semivowels, while he might have employed the (shorter term) इण्: (formed by means of the ण् of the first S'ivasûtra अ इ उण्, his doing so shows that) the term इण् is never formed by means of the ण् of the first (Sûtra अ इ उण्, but is always formed with the ण् of the sixth Sûtra ऌण्; for य्वोः), formed by the change of इ and उ to य् and व् and the addition of the (necessary) case-termination, contains 3½ Mâtrâs, whereas the term इण् with its termination (*i. e.* इणः) would contain (only) 3 Mâtrâs.'[2] Moreover Kaiyaṭa comments on the Bhâshya on P. VII., 3, 71, according to which 'शिति should have been employed (in that rule instead of इयनि), because (the employment of शिति in VII., 3, 71) would *besides* have rendered the employment of शिति in P. VII., 3, 75 unnecessary,' by saying, that शिति does *not only* contain fewer Mâtrâs[3] (than इयनि), but would besides render the employment of शिति in P. VII, 3, 75 unnecessary.[4]

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1. See above pag. 5.

2. पदच्छेदाभिप्रायेणेदम्। अत एवोक्तं विभक्तिनिर्देश इति। संहितायां तु सार्धमात्राद्वयमेवेति वेदितव्यम्॥ P.

3. *Viz.* half a Mâtrâ less.

4. *I. e.* If Pâṇini had employed शिति instead of इयनि, he would have economized not only half a Mâtrâ, but also a whole word, because he would not have been obliged to repeat शिति in VII., 3, 75.

HIGH
SCHOOL

APPENDIX.

PARIBHÂSHÂS CONTAINED IN SIRADEVA'S PARIBHÂSHÂVRITTI.

I. Prathamah Pâdah.

1. = Paribhâshendus'ekhara I.

2. न हि कार्यं निमित्तत्वेनाश्रीयते. See Par. X.

3. इतरेतराश्रयाण्यपि कार्याणि शास्त्रे प्रकल्पन्ते.[1]

4. आगमास्तद्गुणीभूतास्तद्ग्रहणेन गृह्यन्ते = XI.

5. = XII.

6. = VI.

7. = XXI.

8. = XVIII.

9. = XIV.

10. न वर्णग्रहणेषु. See Com. on Par. XIV.; Text p. 14, 5; Transl. p. 83.

11. भाव्यमानोऽप्सवर्णान्न गृह्णाति. See Com. on Par. XIX.; Text p. 19, 13; Transl. p. 109.

12. = XXXIII.

13. विधिविधानविधिभाजां वर्णानां संनिधाने तदन्तविधिर्भवति.[2]

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1. Siradeva: ज्ञापकं चोवेरयण: संप्रसारणम् [१.१.४५] इत्यत्र संप्रसारणेन यण: स्थान इको भाव्यन्ते यण्स्थानिकानां चेको संप्रसारणसंज्ञैतीतरेतराश्रयत्वम् ॥. But see Bhâshya on P. I., 1, 45; and on P. I., 3, 12; Transl. pag. 208.

2. S. तेनैरच् [3.3.५६] इनोवर्णान्तादच्प्रत्ययो भवति । इयं परिभाषा येनोविधिसूत्रेण सामर्थ्यात्लब्धोऽर्थः पठ्यते । तथा हि । येनेति करणे तृतीया न चाकर्तृकं कर-

II. Kuṭâdi-pâdo dvitîyah.

14. =XVII.

15. =XXII.

16. =XXXIV.

III. Bhû-pâdah.

17. उदित्सवर्णं गृह्णाति न वर्णमात्रम्.[1]

18. =XXXVI.

19. =XLI.

IV. Kâraka-pâdah.

20. सकृद्गतौ विप्रतिषेधेन... =XL.

21. =XXXIX.

22. अन्तरङ्गबहिरङ्गयोरन्तरङ्गं बलवत्. See Com. on Par. L.; Text. p. 43, 17; Transl. p. 234.

23. =LXX.

णमस्तीति कर्तीप्याश्रितः। स पुनरिह संबन्धिशब्दत्वादन्तशब्देनावयववाचिना संनिधापितः समुदायो विज्ञायते ॥ स च कर्ती लिभिः प्रकारैः संनिधापितो भवति। क्वचिन्निर्देशात्। यथेदूदेद्विवचनं प्रगृह्यम् [१.१.११]। द्विवचनं कर्तृभूतं निर्दिष्टं यत्तदीदादिभिः करणैः प्रगृह्यसंज्ञां विदधाति ॥ क्वचित्प्रकरणात्। यथैरच् [३.३.५६] इत्यत्र धातोरित्यधिकारात्प्रकरणाद्धातुः कर्ती संनिधापितः। स इकारेण करणेनाचं विदधाति ॥ क्वचित्सामर्थ्यात्। यथैको झल् [१.२.९] इत्यत्र धातोरेव सन्निधीयत इति सामर्थ्याद्धातुः संनिधापितः। स इका करणेन सनः किच्चं विदधाति ॥ तदेवमीदूदेद्विवचनम् [१.१.११] इत्यादौ प्रगृह्यसंज्ञाया विधीयमानस्य विधेरीदूदेतश्च करणस्य विधानस्य द्विवचनस्य च कर्तुर्विधिभाजः संभवाद्येन विधिस्तदन्तस्येति तदन्तविधिः प्रवर्तते। तदेवं येन विधिरित्यस्य सूत्रस्यार्थ एवायमेकेविधौ विधिविधानेत्यादि ॥ एचोऽयवायावः [६.१.७८] इत्यादौ विधिभाजोऽसंभवान्न प्रवर्तते ॥

1. S. उदिद्वर्णोऽणुदित्सवर्णस्य [१.१.६२] इति स्थानप्रयत्नाभ्यां विशिष्टमेव सवर्णं गृह्णाति, न वर्णमात्रं तेन चोः कुः [८.२.३०] इति कुग्रहणे हकारस्य ग्रहणं न भवति। ज्ञापकं चात्र न विभक्तौ तुस्माः [१.३.४] इति तुग्रहणं कृत्वा सकारग्रहणमिति। अयं न्यायसिद्ध एवार्थः सुखप्रतिपत्त्यर्थं ज्ञापकेनोक्तः। तथा हि। स्थानप्रयत्नाभ्यां सदृशस्य सवर्णसंज्ञाविधानात्तकारसकारयोः स्पर्शोष्मणोः प्रयत्नभेदादेव सावर्ण्यं नास्तीति कुतो ज्ञापकम् ॥

24. = XXXV.
25. = XXIII.
26. = XXVI.
27. = XXVII.

V. Samartha-pâdah.

28. = LXXI.
29. = LXXII.

VI. Apara-pâdah.

30. = LXXIII.
31. = LXXIV.
32. = LXXV.

VII. Anabhihita-pâdah.

33. = LVIII.

VIII. Dvigu-pâdah.

34. = LIV.

IX. Pratyaya-pâdah.

35. असति संभवे बाधनं भवत्यस्ति च संभवो यदुभयं स्यात्.[1]
36. = LXVIII.
37. = LXXVI.
38. = VIII.

X. Karmani-pâdah.

39. = CV.
40. = XXXVII.
41. क्वचिद्विकृतिरपि प्रकृतिं गृह्णाति = CXX., 1.

1. S. कार्यैतिरोधादसति समावेशसद्भावे बलवन्नैकेनापरस्य बाधनं भवति । तद्यथा । गोद इति कप्रत्ययेनाण्प्रत्ययस्य बाधनं तथा वृक्षेभ्य इत्यत्रैत्त्वेन दीर्घत्वस्य । यदि त्वस्ति संभवस्तदोभयमपि भवति । यच्छब्दो यदर्थे तदाशब्दश्चाध्याहार्यः । यथा कैकयमित्र्युपगवयानां यादेरियः [७. ३. २] इत्यत्रेयादेशेऽपि कृते वृद्धिः । कैकेयः प्रालेयः ॥. See also Com. on Par. LVII.

42. = LXXVII.

43. = LXVII.

XI. Bahula-pâdah.

44. = LIX.

XII. Sambandha-pâdah.

45. = VII.

46. = LXXVIII.

XIII. Ñyâp-pâdah.

47. = LX.

48. = LXI.

49. अकृतव्यूहाः पाणिनीयाः कृतमपि शास्त्रं निवर्तयन्ति = LVI.

XIV. Rakta-pâdah.

50. = LXXXI.

51. एकानुबन्धकग्रहणे न द्व्यनुबन्धकस्य. See Com. on Par. LXXXI. and LXXXII.; Text p. 84, 13; Transl. p. 404, note 5.

52. = LXXXII.

XV. Yushmat-pâdah.

53. = LXXIX.

XVI. Thak-pâdah.

54. क्रियाविशेषणानां कर्मत्वं नपुंसकलिङ्गता च.[1]

XVII. Dhânya-pâdah.

55. = XXXII.

56. = XXXII.

57. समासप्रत्ययविधौ तदन्तविधिनिषेध उगिदचां सर्वनामस्थाने धातोः. See Com. on Par. XXXI.; Text p. 29, 15; Transl. p. 161.

1. S. तद्यथा । मृदु पचति ॥

XVIII. S'ata-pâdah.

58. स्वार्थिकाः प्रकृतितो लिङ्गवचनान्यातिवर्तन्तेऽपि=LXXXIII.

XIX. Ekâch-pâdah.

59. संप्रसारणं संप्रसारणाश्रयं च कार्यं बलीयो भवति=CXIX.

60. उभयत आश्रयणे नान्तादिवत्. See Com. on Par. LIII.; Text p. 56, 10; Transl. p. 290, note 3.

61. वर्णाश्रये विधौ नान्तादिवत्त्वम्. See Transl. p. 293, note 1.

XX. Bahuvrîhi-pâdah.

62. =XXVIII.

63. =LXXXIV.

XXI. Shashthânga-pâdah (?).

64. =LXXXV.

65. =XVI.

66. =LV.

67. यो ह्यनादिष्टादचः पूर्वस्तस्य विधिं प्रति स्थानिवत्.[1]

68. =XCIII., 9.

69. =L.

70. =LI.

71. संज्ञापूर्वको विधिरनित्यः=XCIII., 1.

72. =LXXXVI.

73. ताच्छीलिके णेऽप्यण्कृतं कार्यं भवति=LXXXII.

74. धातोः कार्यमुच्यमानं तत्प्रत्यय एव भवति=LXXXVIII.

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1. S. योऽयमचः परस्मिन् [१.१.५७] इति स्थानिवद्भावः सोऽनादिष्टादचः पूर्वस्य कार्ये भवति। तेन पटयतीत्यत्र टशब्दाकारादनादिष्टादचः पूर्वो यः पशब्दाकारस्तस्यात उपधायाः [७.२.११६] इति वृद्धिः प्रति लोपः स्थानिवद्भवति। आदिष्टादचः पूर्वस्य तु कार्ये न स्थानिवत्त्वं यथा वैयाकरणः सौनश्चः। तेनेचोऽयवायावः [६.१.७८] इति न भवति। अत्र ह्यचः पूर्वयोरैचोः संभवो नास्ति यकारवकारयोः पूर्वयोरैचोर्विधानात्॥. See P. VII., 3, 3.

XXII. Sup-pâdah.

75. = LXXXIX.

76. अवाधकान्यपि निपातनानि. See Com. on Par. CX.; Text p. 104, 4; Transl. p. 500.

77. अङ्गाधिकारे तस्य तदुत्तरपदस्य च. See Com. on Par. XXIX; Text p. 27, 2; Transl. p. 148.

78. = CVII.

79. क्वचित्समुदायेन वाक्यपरिसमाप्तिः = CVIII.

80. अभेदका इह शास्त्रे गुणाः = CIX.

XXIII. Sichi-pâdah.

81. = CXX., 2.

82. सर्वविधिभ्य इड्विधिर्बलीयान् = XCIII., 8.

83. = XC.

84. वर्त्स्यत्प्रवृत्त्येह कार्याणि क्रियन्ते.[1]

85. = LII.

XXIV. Devikâ-pâdah.

86. सत्यपि संभवे बाधनं भवति. See Com. on Par. LVII.; Text p. 66, 4; Transl. p. 323, note 1.

87. पर्जन्यवदिह लक्षणप्रवृत्तिः = CXI.

88. गर्भवट्टावादयो भवन्ति.[2]

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1. S. भविष्यन्तीं प्रवृत्तिमाश्रित्य कार्याणि क्रियन्त इत्यर्थः। यथा शदेः शितः [१.३.६०] इत्यनेन भाविना शित्त्वेन शीयत इत्यत्रात्मनेपदम्। तथा निन्यनुर्निन्युरित्यत्र भविष्यदनेकाच्त्वेन द्विर्वचनात्प्रागेवैरनेकाचोऽसंयोगपूर्वस्य [६.४.८२] इति यणादेशः। अन्यथेयङ् स्यात्॥

2. S. यथा मध्ये गर्भस्तथा टावादयः स्त्रीप्रत्ययाः प्रातिपदिकस्यादौ मध्ये भवन्ति।.... ज्ञापकं चात्र न यासयोः [७.३.४५.] इतीत्त्वप्रतिषेधार्थं वचनम्। यदि गर्भवट्टावादयो न स्युस्तदा विभक्तौ त्यदाद्यत्वे कृते गर्भवदापोऽभावाद्यका सकौति न स्यात्। एवं च प्रत्ययस्थात् [७.३.४४] इत्यनेनेत्त्वप्राप्तेरभावान्न यासयोरित्यनर्थकं स्यात्॥

89. = XCIII., 10.

90. = XCI.

91. अङ्गवृत्ते पुनर्वृत्तावविधिर्निष्ठितस्य = XCII.

XXV. Naù-pâdah.

92. पूर्वत्रासिद्धीये न स्थानिवत्.[1]

93. उपजातनिमित्तोऽप्युत्सर्ग उपजनिष्यमाणनिमित्तेनापवादेन बाध्यते = LXIV.

94. परिहृत्य चापवादविषयमुत्सर्गोऽभिनिविशते = LXIII.

95. णौ कृतं स्थानिवत्.[2]

96. अभ्यासविकारेष्वपवादा नोत्सर्गान्विधीन्बाधन्ते. See Com. on Par. LVIII; Text p. 67, 14; Transl. pag. 330.

XXVI. Sarvasya-dve-pâdah.

97. पूर्वत्रासिद्धीयमद्विर्वचने = CXVII.

XXVII. Repha-pâdah.

98. अनित्यमागमशासनम् = XCIII., 2.

99. निमित्तापाये नैमित्तिकस्याप्यपायः See Com. on Par. LVI., Text p. 62, 18; Transl. p. 312.

XXVIII. Atah param Nyâyamûlâh Paribhâshâh.

100. = XV.

101. कृत्रिमाकृत्रिमयोः कृत्रिमे कार्यसंप्रत्ययः. See Com. on Par.

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1. S. तेन पापक्तिर्यपटिरित्यत्र पूर्वत्रासिद्धाभिकारिये कुत्वे षत्वे च कर्तव्येऽनौ लोपस्यास्थानिवत्त्वाद्झलादौ कुत्वं षत्वं च सिध्यति ॥ See P. VIII., 2, 30 and 36, and VI., 4, 48.

2. S. णौ परतो यद्वद्धातादिकं कृतं तद्विर्वचने कर्तव्ये स्थानिवत्स्यात्। तेन शुशावयिषति जुहावयिषतीत्यत्राभ्यासस्योवर्णान्तत्वं सिद्धं भवति। अशूशवदित्यत्र तु वकारस्य संप्रसारणं णौ कृतमपि द्विर्वचने न स्थानिवद्भवत्यजादेशस्यैव णौ कृतस्य द्विर्वचने स्थानिवदित्यभ्युपगमात् (?)॥ See Calc. Ed. P. I., 1, 59.

IX.; Text p. 7, 10; Transl. p. 45.

102.=XCVII.

103.=XCIV.

104.=XCVIII.

105.=CVI.

106.=CI.

107. श्रुतानुमितयोः श्रौतः संबन्धो बलीयान् =CIV.

108. पित्स्वराच्चित्स्वरो बलीयान्.[1]

109.=C.

110. प्रतिपदविधानाद्योगविभागो गरीयान् =CXXI.

111. सर्वविधिभ्यो लोपविधिर्बलीयान् =XCIII., 7

112.=XCV.

113.=CIII.

114.=XCVI.

115.=CII.

116.=II.

117.=III.

118.=XCIII., 3.

119. संदेहे बहुवचनं प्रयोक्तव्यम्.[2]

120. अर्थाद्विभक्तिविपरिणामः.[3]

121.=CXIV.

122.=CXV.

123.=XCIX.

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1. S. तेनाम्बष्ठ्या सौवीर्येत्यत्र पित्स्वरमनुदात्तं वाधित्वा चित्स्वादन्तोदात्त एव भवति ॥. See P. IV., 1, 74.

2. S. यथा क्वति भवतः पुत्रा इति । युक्तमेवेदं व्याप्तिन्यायेन बहुवचननिर्देशेन सर्ववचनानामनुग्रहात् ॥

3. S. लोकसिद्ध एवायमर्थः । तथा हि । उच्यति गृह्यतेऽस्य देवदत्तस्यामन्त्रयस्वैनमिति षष्ठी द्वितीयया विपरिणम्यैनं देवदत्तमिति संबध्यते ॥

124. = CXIII.

125. = CXVI.

126. युगपदधिकरणवचनो द्वन्द्वः.[1]

127. पूर्वं धातुः साधनेन युज्यते पश्चादुपसर्गेण. See Com. on Par L.; Text p. 46, 7; Transl. p. 246.

128. अन्ये तु पूर्वं धातुरुपसर्गेण युज्यते पश्चात्साधनेनेत्याहुः. See Com. on Par. L.; Text p. 45, 18.

129. समासकृत्तद्धितेषु संबन्धाभिधानमन्यत्र · रूढ्यभिन्नरूपाव्यभिचरितसंबन्धेभ्यः.[2]

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1. S. एकदेकैकानामर्थाभिधाने द्वन्द्वो भवतीत्यर्थः। 'तेन....देवदत्तंयज्ञदत्तौ पचत इत्यत्रैककालमेव क्रियाकारकसंबन्धः। अतो द्विवचनान्तेन क्रियाद्वयमभिसंबध्यते। वाक्ये तु देवदत्तः पचति यज्ञदत्तश्चेति साधनयोः क्रियासंबन्धः प्रत्येकं क्रमभाव्येव (?) भवत्यत एव पचतीत्येकवचनान्तमेव प्रयुज्यते।

2. S. समासकृत्तद्धितेषूत्पन्नो भावप्रत्ययः संबन्धमाह। यथा नीलोत्पलत्वं वाचकत्वं दण्डित्वमिति॥ रूढ्यभिन्नरूपाव्यभिचरितसंबन्धेभ्यस्तु न भवति संबन्धाभिधानम्। रूढिर्यथा तैलपायिकात्वमिति केचित्। कुम्भकारत्वमित्यन्यः। अत्र हि समासादुत्पन्नो भावप्रत्ययः क्रियासंबन्धं नाभिदधाति। किं तर्हि। जातिम्॥ अभिन्नरूपं यथा परणद्धागो तीयादन् [५.३.४८] इति तृतीय इति। अत्र हि भावप्रत्ययेऽपि कृते भागमात्रमुच्यते न संबन्धः॥ अव्यभिचरितसंबन्धो यथा सच्छब्दः। अयं सच्छब्द उत्पत्तिमत्स्वपि पदार्थेषु संबन्धं न व्यभिचरति। तत उत्पन्नो भावप्रत्ययः सामान्यमभिदधाति न तु क्रियासंबन्धम्॥

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